

The
AMERICAN
HISTORICAL
REVIEW

Vol. LII, No. 4

July, 1947

The Appearance of an American Attitude
toward External Affairs, 1750-1775

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IN the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 15, 1751, appears the following jingle, which was copied from the English *Westminster Journal* of October 8, 1750:

While Britain complains of *Neutrality* broke,
De Puyseux colloques like a subtle Iago,
And tells us his King will *restore* at a stroke,
St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Domin'ca, Tobago.

But while they *croud People*, and *fortify Bays*,
The Talks at *Barbados* unless they will wink-a,
Must see the *French settling*, whate'er Puyseux says,
St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Tobago, Domin'ca.

Shall Britons believe, when *both Parties* are heard,
Our *Creole* all *Sland'ers*, their *Neighbours* all inn'cent?
Or claim, with a *Lye*, giv'n to each *Frenchman's Beard*,
Domin'ca, Tobago, St. Lucia, St. Vincent?

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To settle this Point send out *forty good Sail*,
With Warren or Hawke to inspect each *Minutia*;
They'll teach us *to whom shall belong*, without fail,
*Tobago, Domin'ca, St. Vincent, St. Lucia.*¹

This political doggerel refers to the dispute then going on between France and England over the so-called "neutral Islands" of the West Indies. The fact that the verses were copied in an American newspaper is fairly revealing; for it throws light upon an American interest in international affairs that was both wide and deep.

It is a significant fact that American colonial newspapers contain a much greater proportion of foreign news than do the newspapers of the nineteenth century. This is a clear indication that Americans, in the period before the Revolution, were much more actively and intensely concerned with the affairs of the outside world than they were after the end of the Napoleonic Wars and after President Monroe had slammed the door in Europe's face in 1823.

Certainly as long as the French and their Indian allies, both great and terrible enemies, stood athwart the westward march to empire, the British-Americans were bound to watch closely every move of the great European imperial rivals. This had to be, since the very survival of the British colonies might well depend upon the fickle behavior of the scales in the European balance of power. Moreover, there were weightier reasons for an interest in European international affairs close at hand. Frenchmen had been fighting Englishmen for the wilderness ever since the beginnings of English and French colonization; and that conflict had its roots and its reasons for being here in America and would probably have had to be fought out even had France and England never raised a hand against each other. But they had, and the local American conflict was part of the larger imperial competition around the world. The Americans knew it; and they also knew that their own fate might well hang upon the outcome of this first world war. Their interest in the Anglo-French conflict, therefore, sprang from involvements in it that were vital to them.

But the Americans were not deeply interested in this struggle of the titans merely because they were tied to one of them. The fact that they were the offspring of England gave them a psychological and emotional tie of loyalty that probably would have kept alive in them an interest in England and all things English, even had there been no Anglo-French conflict. Yet the two things went together; the need for protection combined with patriotic attachment

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 15, 1751.

in the mid-eighteenth century to produce a burst of British-American patriotism that has seldom, if ever, been equaled.

The colonial newspapers of the 1750's were full of it; it found expression both in patriotic and anti-French news and articles copied from English newspapers and in diatribes composed by Americans.² At the same time, the official attitude, represented by such men as Governors James Glen of South Carolina, Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, Horatio Sharpe of Maryland, and William Shirley of Massachusetts, was one of patriotic alarm. This alarm was expressed by Governor Sharpe of Maryland, for example, who saw the French occupation of the upper Allegheny Valley as early as March 6, 1754, as "flagrant Acts of Hostility . . . an Invasion . . . [and] unjust Usurpations and Encroachments on his Majesty's Dominions."³ To which the Maryland assembly coolly made reply that

. . . we humbly conceive, that the Situation . . . of our Neighbours of Virginia, with regard to any Violence or Outrage, threatened or perpetrated against them, by the French, does not require our immediate aid or Assistance, by the raising of an armed Force here . . . and therefore, we do not think it necessary to do any Thing in that Matter at present.⁴

Needless to say, the official alarm of the governors was shared by the imperialists in all the colonies, but particularly in those which had frontiers in the areas claimed by both French and English. Such imperialists, for example, were Dr. William Clarke of Boston⁵ and William Livingston of New York. Clarke evaded the question of just boundaries between the French colonies and the British, and claimed that the French had "a plan" which, if successfully carried out, could result only in the domination of the British-American colonies by France. The British colonies, he said, were doubling in population every twenty years, and would in the future consume enormous quantities of British manufactures; but he warned that this great market and source of material strength would be lost to Britain if France were allowed to seize the British colonies. In fact, he said, "the Prince, who holds Possession of the *English Colonies in North-America*, will be in a Condition to keep the Sovereignty of the Atlantic Ocean, thro' which the homeward bound Trade from the East and West-Indies generally passes."⁶ In short, if France takes

² See, for example, the *Maryland Gazette*, Aug. 15, 1750; *ibid.*, Sept. 6, 1749; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, *passim*; *South-Carolina Gazette*, July 23, 1750, *et passim*; etc.

³ *Maryland Archives*, I, 422-23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 428.

⁵ William Clarke, *Observations on the Late and Present Conduct of the French . . . in North America* (Boston, 1755).

⁶ Clarke, p. 43.

the British colonies, he wrote, British commerce will be destroyed; and, with it, Britain.

This thoroughly mercantilistic argument was echoed by William Livingston, who elaborated it into an American version of the theory of the balance of power as dependent upon colonial commerce. For Livingston saw the colonies as an inexhaustible magazine of national wealth, "and if suffered to fall into the hands of the French, such will be the accession to their [France's] already extended commerce and marine strength, that Great Britain must not only lose her former lustre, but, dreadful even in thought! cease to be any longer an independent power." Nay, he says, it would bring to pass "the long-projected design of that aspiring nation, for setting up an Universal Monarchy: for, if France rule the ocean, her resources will enable her to subject all Europe to her sway."⁷

The attitude of many American officials and imperialists was thus distinctly mercantilist in nature. Needless to say, these imperialists were none too scrupulous about the validity of their claims to the lands beyond the Allegheny watershed, and they were all for the "offensive defensive" to beat the French to them.⁸

⁷ William Livingston, *A Review of the Military Operations in North America . . .* (Dublin, 1757), p. 3.

⁸ The word "mercantilist" is used here to indicate the political philosophy that dominated the minds of most European statesmen in the middle of the eighteenth century. This was a body of ideas that varied from statesman to statesman and from country to country, but it held, in general, that the power of a state rests ultimately upon the extent and the profitableness of its commerce. Colonies, in such a polity, were regarded as being areas of the national market, to be monopolized, as far as possible, by the mother country; as sources of raw materials to be exploited as exclusively as possible by the mother country; and as having a commerce of their own that was to be encouraged only so long as it redounded, in the long run, to the profit of the mother country and to be discouraged in every point where it seemed to be in rivalry with the commerce of the mother country or where it appeared to cause a net loss to the merchants of the mother country. For example, as Professor C. W. Alvord has shown in his *Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (2 vols., Cleveland, 1917), the British mercantilists were divided over the policy Britain should follow with regard to the Mississippi Valley, because they could not agree whether settlement of the valley or reservation of the area for the fur trade with the Indians would be more profitable for British commerce as a whole. Mercantilism was the sort of thinking that led General Thomas Gage to oppose settlement of the valley because he thought the colonists there would not send their products to the English market: "I [think it would] be for our interest to keep the Settlers within reach of the Sea-Coast as long as we can; and to cramp their Trade as far as it can be done prudentially. Cities flourish and increase by extensive Trade, artisans and Mechanics of all Sort's are drawn thither, who teach all sorts of handicraft work before unknown in the Country, and they soon come to make for themselves what they used to import. I have seen this Increase, and I assure your Lordship that Foundations are laid in Philadelphia that must create Jealousy in an Englishman." Thomas Gage, *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, ed. by Clarence E. Carter (2 vols., New Haven, 1933), II, 616.

In the realm of international relations it was this same mercantilist philosophy which led the duc de Choiseul to write, in 1758, that "The King [of France] believes, Monsieur, that it is possessions in America that will in the future form the balance of power in Europe, and that, if the English invade that [the Spanish] part of the world, as it appears they have the intention of doing, it will result therefrom that England will usurp the commerce of the nations, and that she alone will remain rich in Europe." AE, Cor. Pol. Naples, 78: 44-54; quoted in Max Savelle, "The American Balance of Power and European Diplomacy," in R. B. Morris, ed., *The Era of the American Revolution* (New York, 1939), pp. 160-61.

There were some American imperialists, on the other hand, who, like Thomas Lee of Virginia, were more interested in land than they were in commerce. Lee, as is well known, was the moving spirit in the Ohio Company, and extremely active in trying to arouse support in other colonies for his belief that Britain owned America all the way to the Pacific and his own frank purpose "to extend the British empire"⁹ by defeating the French on the Ohio.

The alarm and the aggressiveness of the imperialists were not shared by the colonial assemblies, however. Several of the assemblies, if not all, were distinctly cool, to say the least, toward the official and journalistic patriotic fervor. The Maryland assembly refused to grant any money to aid Virginia until after Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity, and the Pennsylvania assembly, even as late as January, 1755, remarked to their governor that the French activities in the west seemed to have been exaggerated; the territory involved, they said, lay in Virginia anyway: why should Pennsylvania concern itself?¹⁰ The New York assembly, which might have been expected to be interested in westward expansion, stated flatly that the building of a fort by the French at French Creek "may, but does not by any Evidence or Information, appear to us to be an Invasion, of any of his Majesty's Colonies, nor does the Government of *Virginia*, seem to look upon it as such," since Dinwiddie's letter appealing for aid says only that "the Plan of Operation is no more, than to take Possession of the Lands in his Majesty's Name, and build Forts agreeable to his Command."¹¹ Even the Virginia house of burgesses, of all the colonial assemblies the one most directly interested in the French movements, attached to the bill appropriating £20,000 for the support of measures to be taken to defend the Virginia frontier a rider requiring that £2,500 be paid to Peyton Randolph as agent representing the house of burgesses in London!¹² This action was bitterly protested by Dinwiddie, rejected by the council as "an Alteration of the Constitution," and defended by the burgesses as "agreeable to the Usage of Parliament." Furthermore, they said, although for patriotic reasons they would not insist upon the point, they felt

⁹ Quoted in Kenneth P. Bailey, *The Ohio Company of Virginia* (Glendale, 1939), p. 39. See also *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, V, 422, *et passim*. It should be remembered that the Anglo-French competition in North America was part of a world-wide conflict of mercantilist empires, and that the rival penetrations of the Ohio Valley were only one scene in the North American theater which must be studied along with the concurrent disputes over Acadia and the Neutral Islands. Title to the upper Ohio was certainly not clear, either to the French or to the British, although the French seem to have had a little the best of the argument. In Acadia, on the other hand, the positions were reversed, and the British claims were probably more justified than the French.

¹⁰ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 7, 1755.

¹¹ *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York* (2 vols., New York, 1766), II, 378-79.

¹² *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1752-1755; 1756-1758*, ed. by H. R. McIlwaine (Richmond, 1919), p. 201.

sure that their conduct would be "such an undeniable Testimony to Posterity of our strict Attachment to their [*i.e.*, posterity's] Rights and Properties, that should they ever be so unhappy as to groan under the galling Yoke of civil and religious Oppression, it could not be the Effect of any Inactivity, Supineness, or Neglect in us, the faithful Guardians of their Liberties."¹³

Aside from the religious scruples of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, it seems evident that the coolness of the colonial assemblies toward the Anglo-French conflict, marked by their reactions both to Dinwiddie's appeals and to the Albany Plan of Union in 1754, is to be explained largely in terms of their struggle for political autonomy and against prerogative, whether royal or proprietary.

When we observe the popular reactions to the Anglo-French conflict, however, it becomes crystal clear that most articulate Americans were ardent British patriots. Dr. William Douglass of Boston probably expressed the thought of many of his fellow citizens when he wrote, late in the 1740's, that

The French are the common Nuisance and Disturbers of Europe, and will in a short time become the same in *America*, if not mutilated at Home, and in *America* fenced off from us by Ditches and Walls, that is, by great Rivers and impracticable Mountains. . . . *By Custom Time out of Mind, they are above, and do upon all Occasions dispense with the Principles of Honesty and Honour*; Superiority and Power is their only Rule, as Louis XIV. modestly expressed it, in the Device upon his Cannon, *Ratio ultima Regum*: They occasionally make *Dupes* of the other Princes in Europe; their Promises and Faith are by them used only as a sort of Scaffolding, which, when the Structure is finished, or Project effected, they drop; in all publick Treaties they are *Gens de mauvaise Foy*. . . . [They are] more capable of swarming into their Colonies than we are; in order to preserve a Ballance in *Europe*, they ought to be curtail'd or dismembered there, which will effectually at the same Time prevent their too great Growth in *America*.¹⁴

The hatred of France and all things French was complemented by love of Britain, and celebrated in patriotic speeches that have a familiar ring, even today. Consider, for example, the election sermon of the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, in 1754, in which the preacher exhorts his countrymen to protect the free, British-American way of life against the unspeakable danger of domination by French autocracy:

And what horrid scene is this, which restless, roving fancy, or something of an higher nature, presents to me, and so chills my blood! Do I behold these territories of freedom, become the prey of arbitrary power? . . . Do I see the slaves of Lewis with their Indian allies, dispossessing the free-born [American] subjects of King George, of the inheritance received from their forefathers, and purchased by them

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹⁴ William Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the British Settlements on North America* (Boston, 1749-52), I, 2-3.

at the expense of their ease, their treasure, their blood! . . . Do I see a protestant, there, stealing a look at his bible, and being tak[en] in the fact, punished like a felon! . . . Do I see all liberty, property, religion, happiness, changed, or rather transubstantiated, into slavery, poverty, superstition, wretchedness!¹⁵

Or this, by the Reverend Samuel Davies, of Virginia:

And shall these Ravages go on uncheck'd? Shall *Virginia* incur the Guilt, and the everlasting Shame of tamely exchanging her Liberty, her Religion, and her All, for arbitrary *Gallic* Power, and for Papish Slavery, Tyranny, and Massacre? Alas! are there none of her Children, that enjoyed all the Blessings of her Peace, that will espouse her Cause, and befriend her now in the Time of her Danger? Are *Britons* utterly degenerated by so short a Remove from their Mother-Country? Is the Spirit of Patriotism entirely extinguished among us? And must I give thee up for lost, O my Country! and all that is included in that important word?¹⁶

The patriotism to which these men appealed was very real. Nor was it confined to politicians and preachers, for it permeated every form of expression. As might be expected, it is often to be encountered in the budding native poetry. For example, John Maylem of Newport prayed for power to avenge the monstrous perfidy of the French in his poem "Gallic Perfidy":

Amazing Perfidy! . . .
Ye Powers of Fury lend
Some mighty Phrensy to enrage my Brest
With solemn Song, beyond all Nature's Strain! . . .
O Chief in War! of all (young) Albion's Force,
Invest me only with sufficient Power;
I (yet a Boy) will play the Man, and chase
The wily Savage from his secret Haunts:
Not Alpine Mounts shall thwart my rapid Course;
I'll scale the Craggs, then, with impetuous Speed,
Rush down the Steep, and scow'r along the Vale;
Then on the Sea-Shore halt; and last, explore
The green Meanders of eternal Wood.¹⁷

And young Francis Hopkinson, budding poet of the Philadelphia salon, celebrated the fall of Louisbourg in 1758 in lines that are both patriotic and aristocratic:

At length 'tis done! The glorious conflict's done!
And *British* valour has the conquest won!
Success our arms, our heroes, *Honor* crowns,
And Louisbourg an *English* monarch owns. . . .

¹⁵ Jonathan Mayhew, *Election Sermon, 1754*, pp. 37-38, quoted in Alice M. Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (Durham, N. C., 1928), p. 87.

¹⁶ Samuel Davies, *Religion and Patriotism the Constituents of a Good Soldier* (Philadelphia, 1756), pp. 4-5.

¹⁷ Quoted in Lawrence C. Wroth, "John Maylem: Poet and Warrior," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXXIX, 87-120, pp. 100-101.

Give your loose canvas to the breezes free
 Ye floating thund'ers, bulwarks of the sea!
 Haste bear the joyful tidings to your king,
 And with the voice of war declare 'tis Victory you bring.
 Let the wild *Croud* that catch the breath of fame,
 In mad *Huzzas* their ruder joys proclaim;
 Let their loud thanks to Heav'n in flames ascend,
 Whilst mingling shouts the azure concave rend.
 But let the *Few*, whom *Reason* makes more wise,
 In tears of *Gratitude* uplift their eyes;
 Oh may their breasts dilate with *sober* joy,
 Let Pray'r their hearts, their tongues let *Praise* employ!
 To bless our *God* with me let all unite;
 He guides the conqu'ring sword, *he* governs in the fight.¹⁸

"If ever there was a national war," wrote Benjamin Franklin in 1760, "this [the Seven Years' War] is truly such a one; a war in which the interest of the whole [Anglo-American] nation is directly and fundamentally concerned."¹⁹

These were British-American patriots; and they meant what they said. Furthermore, they did not think of themselves as separate from the British Empire but as integral parts of it. They and their immediate interests were intimately concerned in the Anglo-French conflict; their official connection with Britain as an organic part of the empire made an interest in the world relationships of their empire seem only natural; and self-interest and imperial outlook were bolstered by a very real British-American patriotism.

The wave of British-American patriotism that swept through the colonies between 1754 and 1760 probably may have expressed the feelings of the majority of the Americans. At the same time, even in the midst of war, the colonial assemblies continued to be jealous of their rights and privileges, and to eye with a certain amount of distrust the moves of the British government and of the British commanders in America. As soon as the war was over, American distrust of British motives, coupled with the colonial dislike of the patronizing airs of their English cousins, broke out into the open, and the Americans began to ask, "Who won the war, anyway?" This remarkable attitude, implying the conviction that the American colonies were of great importance in the empire and to the world at large, was not without precedent, for there were a good many Americans like William Clarke who felt that it was the New England expedition against Cap Breton in 1745, that

¹⁸ Francis Hopkinson, "Poem on the Taking of Cap Breton," *American Magazine*, I, no. 11 (August, 1758), 551-54.

¹⁹ Benjamin Franklin, *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. by Jared Sparks (10 vols., Boston, 1840), IV, 21.

had "compelled Louisbourg to surrender and gave Peace to Europe."²⁰ And there were a good many, including Clarke and Livingston, who were coming to the conviction that the real makeweight in the international balance of power, after all, was America, and that the chief source of Britain's predominant strength in the balance of forces in Europe was precisely her American colonies.

These are evidences of the growing sense of self-realization among the Americans. And this growing self-assurance was unquestionably one of the psychological factors that emboldened the Americans to resist the Grenville program of reorganization after the Seven Years' War was over. As the American resistance grew, and the debate waxed warm, Daniel Dulany brought the "who-won-the-war" question right out into the open and stated it in the following explicit terms:

It is presumed that it was a notable service done by *New England*, when the militia of that colony reduced *Cape-Breton*, since it enabled the *British ministers* to make a peace less disadvantageous and inglorious than they otherwise must have been constrained to submit to, in the humble state to which they were then reduced. . . . [Furthermore, it is clear] that the general exertion of *the colonies in North America*, during the last war [1756-1763], not only facilitated, but was indispensably requisite to the success of those operations by which so many glorious conquests were achieved, and that those conquests have put it in the power of the present illustrious ministers to make a peace upon terms of so much glory and advantage, as to afford an inexhaustible subject during their administration, and the triumph of toryism, at least, for their ingenious panegyrists to celebrate. . . .

An *American*, without justly incurring the imputation of ingratitude, may doubt, whether some other motive, besides pure generosity, did not prompt the *British Nation* to engage in the defense of the colonies. He may be induced to think that the measures taken for the protection of the plantations, were not only connected with the interests, but [were] even necessary to the defense of *Great-Britain* herself, because he may have reason to imagine that Great-Britain, could not long subsist as an independent kingdom after the loss of her colonies.²¹

This sort of thinking betrays a new mood—or rather the maturation of an old one—among the Americans. Not only were they the decisive factor in the winning of the war for Great Britain, according to Dulany; they were absolutely necessary to Britain's continued survival: and Britain had better have a care to treat them with respect.

As the debate blew hot and cold between 1765 and 1775, but generally hotter, the orientation of the Americans toward the continuing Anglo-French rivalry slowly shifted. It is true that the newspapers contained brief notices

²⁰ Clarke, p. iv.

²¹ Daniel Dulany, *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes on the American Colonies* (1765), p. 17.

of French actions, the movements of the French fleet, and the like, and spoke of the French people as "our" enemies;²² but such news items were relatively rare. Space was now filled up with the "Virginia Resolves," the "Massachusetts Resolves," Dickinson's *Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer*, and other discussions of the relationships of the colonies with the empire. The interest of the Americans was now obviously directed toward American relations with Great Britain rather than with other parts of the world. As is well known, the Americans were now struggling to find a definition of their place in the British Empire that would be conformable both to their ideas of their own importance in the empire and to their drive for economic and political autonomy.

The Americans were just in the process of finding themselves in the world: the French had been disposed of, for the time being; now the most important problem in the outside world for them was Britain. Gradually, in the course of the debates in the provincial assemblies and the Continental Congress, the continentals found themselves logically forced into the position that declared them to be sovereign states, at least internally.

As for the Anglo-French conflict, there was little thought about it in America between 1764 and 1774. As the tension with Britain approached the breaking point, however, the Americans began to re-discuss the old Anglo-French balance of power and they easily discovered the possibility of exploiting it for their own advantage. Franklin observed from London in 1769 and 1770 that all Europe was watching the dispute of Britain with her colonies and that sympathy was generally on the side of the colonies. At the same time, he said, "the malignant Pleasure, which other Powers take in British Divisions, may convince us on both sides of the Necessity of our uniting."²³ But the interest of Europe in the dispute, and particularly the interest of France, was soon recognized by the Americans as a possible trump in their own hand, rather than as a reason for compromising their difficulties with Britain.

It was John Adams who probably saw most clearly the potential value of the Anglo-French rivalry to the American cause; and although his first motion in the Continental Congress to send ambassadors abroad failed, he continued to argue for exploiting the Anglo-French enmity for the benefit of the embattled colonists. As he related it in his autobiography:

²² *Connecticut Courant*, Apr. 29, 1765; *Maryland Gazette*, Aug. 27, 1767, Feb. 22, 1770; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Oct. 10, Nov. 7, 1771; etc.

²³ Benjamin Franklin, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. by Albert H. Smith (10 vols., New York, 1907), V, 254.

Some gentlemen doubted of the sentiments of France; thought she would frown upon us as rebels, and be afraid to countenance the example. I replied to those gentlemen, that I apprehended they had not attended to the relative situation of France and England; that it was the unquestionable interest of France that the British Continental Colonies should be independent; that Britain, by the conquest of Canada and her naval triumphs during the last war, and by her vast possessions in America and the East Indies, was exalted to a height of power and preëminence that France must envy and could not endure. But there was much more than pride and jealousy in the case. Her rank, her consideration in Europe, and even her safety and independence, were at stake. . . . that interest could not lie; that the interest of France was so obvious, and her motives so cogent, that nothing but a judicial infatuation of her councils could restrain her from embracing us; that our negotiations with France ought, however, to be conducted with great caution, and with all the foresight we could possibly obtain; that we ought not to enter into any alliance with her, which should entangle us in any future wars in Europe; that we ought to lay it down, as a first principle and maxim never to be forgotten, to maintain an entire neutrality in all future European wars; that it never could be our interest to unite with France in the destruction of England, or in any measures to break her spirit, or reduce her to a situation in which she could not support her independence. On the other hand, it could never be our duty to unite with Britain in too great a humiliation of France; that our real, if not our nominal, independence, would consist in our neutrality. . . . The opening of American trade to her [France], would be a vast resource for her commerce and naval power, and a great assistance to her in protecting her East and West India possessions, as well as her fisheries; but the bare dismemberment of the British empire would be to her an incalculable security and benefit, worth more than all the exertions we should require of her, even if it should draw her into another eight or ten years' war.²⁴

So far had the weather vane of the American attitude shifted, between 1750 and 1775. The ancient enemy, France, for the description of whom in 1755 no language was powerful enough, no epithet scurrilous enough, was now become the prospective ally, to be courted for her aid; circumspectly and cautiously courted, to be sure, almost as a male black widow spider might court his deadly bride, but courted nonetheless. And for what?

To bring to realization the maturing sovereignty of the Anglo-American states. To give fruition to the drive for autonomy that had been in them for a century. It is of interest to observe that the basic concept of international affairs, for those who thought seriously on the subject, was still the concept of a mercantilistic balance of power—a balance in which the American colonies were thought to be the decisive makeweight. But the most significant fact that emerges from all the discussion, perhaps, is that the American people, divided though they were, were moving steadily and surely toward

²⁴ John Adams, *The Works of John Adams*, ed. by Charles F. Adams (10 vols., Boston, 1856), II, 503–506; quoted in E. C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (8 vols., Washington, 1921–36), I, 351 n.

a national self-consciousness, though always, be it said, demanding only to be the first-born in a closely knit British family of autonomous states. The orientation of the slowly self-conscious American people toward the outside world was moving, in the years between 1750 and 1775, toward a demand for acceptance as a new member, or as a group of new members, albeit young and unproven, of the Atlantic community of nations.

Parliament in the Later Middle Ages

GEORGE L. HASKINS*

THE real problem in the history of parliament, it has been rightly said, is not so much to explain the beginnings of certain modern practices in the house of commons as to attempt to show why popular representation became an essential and inseparable feature of parliament.¹ Marked as the changes have been in the structure and complexion of parliament, the use of elected representatives has been a persistent feature of parliament since the thirteenth century. In the course of time, this feature has become a dominant and basic fact in modern political institutions.

The problem is not to be clarified by any search into origins, no matter how ingenious or far-reaching.² The house of commons, as we know it today, may be said to date mainly from the seventeenth century, most of its procedure from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The explanation is therefore to be found in tracing the increasing activities of the representatives in the later Middle Ages and the early modern period; it is to be found in tracing the new ideas consequent upon these activities, which resulted in the commons' coming to be considered an essential part of the machinery of parliament. It was the grafting of new ideas and practices onto the old institution which brought about the transformation of the medieval into the modern parliament.

Parliament began in the thirteenth century as an expanded session of the king's council. Administrative expedience and financial needs had caused the king to summon before his council at Westminster not only the magnates and greater barons but also elected representatives of the counties and towns. Those representatives, however, appeared only by royal command, and they treated upon those matters in which the king was interested. Throughout the fourteenth and the greater part of the fifteenth centuries, parliament was in a very real sense the king's court. The magnates and representatives in the fourteenth century were scarcely more than the servants and petitioners of the prerogative, and their wishes and grievances were redressed

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¹H. G. Richardson, in Royal Historical Society, *Transactions*, 4th ser., XI (1928), 170.

²A good deal of the material in this article will appear familiar to students of English representative institutions, but it has seemed worth while to gather together certain significant trends in the history of parliament in the later Middle Ages. In the absence of extensive footnotes, I wish to make particular acknowledgment of my indebtedness to the writings of Messrs. H. G. Richardson, H. L. Gray, S. B. Chrimes, T. F. T. Plucknett, Wallace Notestein, and J. E. A. Jolliffe.

only insofar as they were accepted by the king and council. Compared with the great legislating parliaments of later days, the role of the commons was a passive one.

By the sixteenth century, however, parliament had emerged as a representative assembly of three estates, consisting, in the words of Sir Edward Coke, "of the kings majesty sitting there as in his royall politick capacity, and of the three estates of the realm: viz. of the lords spiritual, . . . the lords temporall . . . and the commons."³ In the mid-seventeenth century there emerged a distinct conception of parliament as a legislative assembly, whose powers were wielded largely by the house of commons, rather than by the king and council as in a high court of justice. The steps by which this transformation from the medieval to the modern parliament took place were slow and microscopic, but the contrast between parliament in 1350 and 1650 is nevertheless striking. How did this transformation come about?

To the historians of an elder generation, to men like Gneist and Hallam and Stubbs, parliament had been consciously founded by Edward I upon a system of estates perfected in 1295. Such doctrines at times infected even Maitland, who stated that "before the end of the thirteenth century the national assembly is ceasing to be a feudal court; it is becoming an assembly of the estates of the realm."⁴ Recent investigation of the activities of parliament, and particularly of the representatives, indicates that this description is not accurate.⁵ It was not until well on in the fourteenth century that the commons acquired control over finance and secured much power of initiative in enactment. Even then, the stage had not been reached when the commons' petitions were converted automatically by engrossment into statutes. The enacting power belonged exclusively to the king's judges and the members of the council. So late as 1389, it was necessary for the commons to petition that the chancellor and council should make no ordinances conflicting with the common law after a session of parliament had been dismissed.⁶

In the fourteenth century parliament was above all a court to secure redress for exceptional hardships of individuals and of the people at large. This fact further emphasized the inferior position of the commons in parliament; it helped to confine their activities. Their position was that of suitors

³ *Fourth Institute*, c. 1.

⁴ Frederic W. Maitland, *The Constitutional History of England* (Cambridge, 1908), p. 75.

⁵ For bibliography of recent literature on the beginnings of representative assemblies in England see *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII, 948-56; Emile Lousse, *L'organisation corporative du Moyen Age* (Louvain, 1937 ff.); Carl Stephenson, "Taxation and Representation," *Haskins Anniversary Essays* (Boston, 1929); George L. Haskins, *The Statute of York and the Interest of the Commons* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), and in *English Historical Review*, LIII (1938), 1-20; Gaillard Lapsley, in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, V (1936), 119-61.

⁶ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 266.

at a court; whether one looks at their financial or legislative functions, this is apparent. Even the grants which they made the king were considered to be no more than the revenues of the king's high court. In a striking speech in court in 1441, Chief Baron Fray remarked: "If there were no law there would be no King and no inheritance. Now, by this law he is to have all the amercements and revenues of his courts."⁷ In other words, parliamentary taxation was thought to be a profit of the King's Court of Parliament to which he was entitled in the same way as to the fines of, say, the King's Bench.

So distinct were these ideas about parliament and the position of the commons, so marked the expositions of it, that it is impossible to accept the position of historians like Stubbs and Hallam. Their notion that by 1400 the structure of the English government was complete and that the fifteenth century was "startlingly and prematurely modern," a period of "unbroken constitutional government," scarcely describes the facts of the situation. Those historians, in their enthusiasm for representative institutions, believed that the knights and burgesses in the fifteenth century were on the whole an upstanding and honorable class of people. The fact that greater advances in parliamentary government were not made in the century they attributed to the wickedness of the times and to the absence of public spirit among the great lords. "If the only object of Constitutional History," says Stubbs, "were the investigation of the origin and powers of Parliament, the study of the subject might be suspended at the deposition of Richard II."⁸ In his sanguine view, not only was the structure of parliament complete in 1400, but "never before and never again for more than two hundred years were the commons so strong as they were under Henry IV."⁹

It is pointless to seize upon every increase in the power of the commons in this period and to hold it up as a victory for popular government. As Jolliffe says, "To do so is to read into the second century of parliamentary history the common will and purpose, the reasoned jealousy for its rights and powers, the fuller sense of its place in the constitution, which only came to parliament after it had fought its way to predominance against the Stuarts."¹⁰ It is equally purposeless to preach moral sermons on the decadence of an age which does not exemplify issues or principles which another generation considers significant. The protracted wars, the many private feuds which fill the pages of the annals of the fifteenth century are symptomatic of a general

⁷ Quoted by Theodore F. T. Plucknett, in *Tudor Studies Presented to A. F. Pollard* (London, 1924), p. 164.

⁸ William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England* (Oxford, 1884), III, 2.

⁹ Stubbs, III, 73.

¹⁰ John E. A. Jolliffe, *The Constitutional History of Medieval England* (London, 1937), p. 441.

breakdown in the structure of medieval society. It is an age of uncertainty, of many conflicting ideas and sentiments; it is characterized by a general lack of fundamental convictions on every side. Yet these matters are to be considered objectively for the light they throw upon the subject of our investigation.

In the fifteenth century, the breakdown of the medieval community is everywhere apparent. "The central judicature was losing its independence. . . . Judgements, when rightly rendered, were made valueless by falsification, perversions of the verdicts really returned, or erasure from the rolls, and in the provincial courts it was often impossible to obtain any sort of record by which a case might be carried in appeal."¹¹ Private wars were carried on on a wide scale. In 1417, we learn from a parliamentary petition that large bands of associated malefactors were ravaging the country, plundering the people, holding the forests, spreading Lollardy, treason and rebellion.¹² Whole counties were infested with bandits, and the scholars of Oxford were waging a war of their own against the county.¹³ Legal severities, even torture, had no effect on reducing the general anarchy.

The old nobility was fast disappearing, and a new chivalry was growing up which cut across the old feudal ties. Their power was fostered by maintenance and livery. The small man took a lord's livery, and the guilt of the great went unquestioned. Corruption permeated society. The records show that assize jurors were constantly bought and that the sheriffs were the tools of great men. One gets the impression of general disillusionment in an age when old beliefs had gone and new ones had not yet come in to take their place. The spread of Lollardy among the poorer classes is simply another symptom of dissatisfaction with the older order. There is much talk of the dignity of the individual, as against the artificial rule of law. One feels that "the dead-weight of indifference and disillusionment paralysed those who had the task of maintaining law and order upon the established principles."¹⁴

The "aggressive policy," the "rare initiative," which Stubbs speaks of as characteristic of the house of commons in the fifteenth century, would indeed be a marvelous thing in the midst of the general breakdown in society—that is, it would be if it were true. Close scrutiny of the records shows that the parliaments of Lancaster and York were often ancillary to the council and shared in the general characteristics of the government of that time. The political and dynastic crises from 1388 on dragged parliament more or less unwillingly in their train, but dragged them nonetheless. The com-

¹¹ Jolliffe, p. 414.

¹² *Rot. Parl.*, IV, 113; cf. *ibid.*, IV, 24.

¹³ Stubbs, III, 278.

¹⁴ Jolliffe, p. 422.

mons were used to give the color of wide popular support and to give the sanction of law to factious victories. Such strength as the commons had in the reign of Henry IV was not theirs but their lords', who, however divided, were at least stronger than the king. Almost without exception, "parliament appears as the tool rather than the maker of revolutions. The Merciless Parliament met under the influence of the Appellants. It sat under the menace of the armed companies of Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel."¹⁵ Much of the appearance of spontaneity in the commons' actions was the consequence of intimidation and packing. In 1455 the duchess of Norfolk wrote to John Paston, saying, "It is thought right necessarie . . . that my Lord have at this tyme in the Parlement suche persones as longe unto him, and be of his menyall servants."¹⁶ Another letter of the same year in the Paston collection recites that, "Sum men holde it right straunge to be in this Parlement, and me thenketh they be wyse men that soo doo."¹⁷

How common such packing was, of course, we cannot be sure, for it is not entirely safe to generalize from the isolated instances which we know of.¹⁸ The influence of the magnates upon the knights was to a certain extent inevitable. It could scarcely be otherwise when the knights were their tenants, their servants, their comrades in arms. But it must be remembered that the knights were for the most part self-respecting country gentlemen, men who had had considerable experience in administrative affairs in one way or another. Many of them were no doubt offended at the idea of allowing themselves to be merely the tools of faction. Many more must have been concerned not to commit themselves, and, above all, not to make themselves conspicuous in the quarrels of the mighty.

The generally unsettled character of the fifteenth century had a distinct influence upon the election to parliament of the knights and burgesses. As a force in local affairs, the county court had suffered in the previous hundred years a marked decline. No longer was every freeholder expected to attend personally the monthly sessions of the court. Many of its functions had been turned over to the justices of the peace, while most of its judicial work now concerned pleas of debt. Consequently, the only persons whose attendance was required personally were the parties to suits and the rota of qualified jurors. Since no others were required, and since parliamentary elections were still held in full county court, it is easy to see that the electors were not

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

¹⁶ James Gairdner, ed., *The Paston Letters* (London, 1872), no. 244.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 249.

¹⁸ On this question, see H. G. Richardson, "John of Gaunt and the Parliamentary Representation of Lancashire," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXII (1938), 175.

representative of the county and might be persons of little substance, people who might easily be intimidated by the sheriff. A statute in 1406 enacted that for the occasion of an election, other persons than the normal suitors were to be specially cited. Provision was also made to see that the power of the sheriffs to cite electors was not abused.¹⁹ Yet in spite of those provisions it is clear that elections were often carried through in the absence of the better people of the county, or were dispatched by the rabble.²⁰ Such too was the power of the sheriffs that precautions had to be taken against their falsifying returns, and an elaborate system of indentures, signed or sealed by the suitors, was required to be sent in by the sheriff with his return. A fine of £100 was exacted from any sheriff who was discovered to have manipulated the returns.²¹

Knights and burgesses in the fifteenth century appear on occasion anxious to be elected to parliament. However, we cannot be too sure that it was high-minded motives and public spirit which induced the commons to stand for parliament, as Stubbs alleges. It must first be asked whether there were not ulterior motives in seeking election. Clearly some knights had other business in view at Westminster, possibly even their pleasure. We know for certain that many lawyers who sought election in parliament had in mind combining litigation before the courts with their duties as knights of the shire.²² Some borough representatives, required for other purposes, considered election a way of defraying the expenses of a journey to London.²³

Promise there was, however, among the conflicting and discouraging tendencies of the fifteenth century. Attempts were constantly made to secure the return of suitable men of ability to parliament. An act of 1382 forbade the sheriff to omit the regular cities or boroughs from his returns and thus tamper with the elections.²⁴ Apparently he had been using his influence to distinguish the right of certain boroughs to return representatives. In 1404, a petition from Rutland indicates that the sheriff at times was able to return members who had not been duly elected.²⁵ Other acts in the fifteenth century attempted to regulate elections and to insist on certain qualifications for representatives. Constantly the king tried to secure real knights "girt with a sword" and "more approved by feats of arms." In 1445, he asserted that the persons chosen for parliament should be "notable knights of the shire which elected them, or else notable squires, gentlemen of birth capable of

¹⁹ *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 156.

²¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 341.

²³ Cf. K. L. Wood-Legh, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI (1931), 374-75.

²⁴ *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 25.

²⁰ *Rot. Parl.*, II, 355; cf. *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 243.

²² Stubbs, III, 421.

²⁵ *Rot. Parl.*, III, 530.

becoming knights," and that "no man of the degree of yeoman or below it shall be eligible."²⁶

Other statutes specified qualifications for the electors. In 1430, in the eighth year of Henry VI, a restrictive act was passed which remained in force until the nineteenth century. Whereas, it ran, by great attendance of "People of small Substance and no Value, whereof every of them pretended a Voice equivalent, as to such Elections to be made, with the most worthy Knights and Esquires,"²⁷ improper persons are returned to parliament, it is enacted that only resident persons possessed of a freehold worth forty shillings a year or more should be allowed to vote. Two years later, it was ordered that the qualifying freehold should be within the county.²⁸

There are signs, too, toward the end of the century, that parliamentary election was regarded by some as less of a burden and more as a way to preferment at home or at the court. When we find men at pains to dispute an election,²⁹ when we find men standing for parliament in more than one constituency, when we find men in parliament who have been in many other parliaments, we may then say that people in the street have become interested in the affairs of the kingdom. Their first interest has ceased to be in resisting taxation. Newsletters are circulated,³⁰ the people of the counties and towns demand a full report of the affairs of parliament from their representatives when they return, and a view wider than the constituency is in process of formation, a view which will find its eloquent expression in the eighteenth century in Burke's famous speech to his constituents in Bristol.

The size of the commons in the fifteenth century was about half what it is today. Generally about three hundred persons appeared in answer to the summons. The returns indicate that there were generally something over two hundred burgesses, and about seventy-four knights of the shire. We find that the commons frequently forget that their summons once depended upon the pleasure of the king. In 1377 they assert, "By common right of the realm there are and ought to be two persons elected from every county in England to be in Parliament for the commune of the said counties."³¹ They also claim favorable points of procedure as the "ancient custom and form of Parliament."³²

In parliament, the commons debated on most matters of public interest.

²⁶ *Lords' Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, IV, 913, 920, 924, etc.; *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 340-42.

²⁷ *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 243.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 273. ²⁹ Cf. Stubbs, III, 438.

³⁰ For an early newsletter, see Richardson and Sayles, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LIII (1938), 425-37.

³¹ *Rot. Parl.*, II, 368. ³² *Ibid.*

Foreign policy, diplomacy, and the general affairs of the kingdom were discussed. For example, in 1446, the treaty of Troyes was made with their consent. In 1427, they petitioned the king to intercede with the pope on behalf of Archbishop Chichele, who was threatened by Martin V with suspension from his legation. Their freedom of debate had been assured them by Henry IV, and their right to criticize the king's ministers had been asserted in the impeachments of Latimer and Pole. In 1406, they had asked permission to audit accounts, and Henry had replied that kings do not render accounts.³³ But in the next year, the accounts were laid before the commons without their asking for them, and the victory so secured was never again formally challenged. The privilege of freedom from arrest for themselves and their retainers during a parliamentary session was secured by the commons early in the fifteenth century. In spite of the famous case of Speaker Thorpe in 1453, the privilege was seldom disregarded.

As the agency through which most petitions of a general nature were presented to the crown, the commons grew to still further importance in the first half of the fifteenth century. The magnates under Richard II had fused more and more with the council and had shed their function of corporate petitioning. They now acted as the crown's agents for transmitting the commons' requests. It is plain that a committee of magnates was appointed by the king to deal with commons' petitions, and that the lords themselves frequently had their requests framed along with the commons' in the general petition. This operated to exalt the commons' petitions as the normal method of bringing about changes in the law or of securing the redress of grievances.³⁴

Modern as the house of commons may appear in the fifteenth century, the development was premature and a good deal of the impression is illusory. Many of the advances achieved by the commons under the Lancastrians were lost or eclipsed under the Yorkists and early Tudors. Under Edward IV, parliaments were held increasingly less than before. In his reign of twenty-two years he held but six. Henry VII between 1485 and 1509 held only seven. In the second half of the fifteenth century, many important commons' bills were rejected, and the crown became increasingly active in legislation at the expense of the commons. Crown bills, based on no previous petition by lords or commons, became increasingly common, and there was little pretense made at popular initiative.

This decline in the power and importance of the commons led Stubbs

³³ Stubbs, III, 55.

³⁴ On the relation between law and public opinion in medieval England, see the thoughtful paper of Helen M. Cam, *The Legislators of Medieval England* (London [British Academy], 1946).

to say that the period of the Lancastrians was one of unbroken constitutional government, whereas that of the Yorkists was characterized by a complete disregard of moral principles and constitutional restraints. This description is not sufficiently objective; it is too facile, too superficial to be accepted. The real explanation of the prominence or obscurity of the commons seems to have depended on the actual power of the crown. When the crown was strong, the magnates and the commons were weak. When the crown was weak, parliament might gain in authority, but it could never hold it, for the resources of government were still medieval. The commons in the fifteenth century were either petitioners or critics. Reflecting generally the political color of the moment, they never shared with the king and lords the responsibilities of government as equal participators.

Other factors explain somewhat the decline of parliament under the Yorkists. One was the rivalry between the council and parliament over jurisdiction; another was the growth of new courts which handled many cases and which even supplemented the legislation of parliament. The crown exercised judicial and legislative powers through the Court of Star Chamber, for example. Though primarily a judicial tribunal, this court "participated in the legislative powers usurped by the King and his Council. The Star Chamber not only expounded the laws, but even made laws."³⁵ Cases in equity were now handled largely by the Court of Chancery, so that fewer petitions of grace and favor came before parliament. Finally the cost of litigation in parliament had grown excessively and operated to diminish the need for such long sessions. A memorandum, the only one of its kind, survives from the fifteenth century to show us the "costage and expens for to sywe to the Kyng and the counseyll." Among the items were charges for making three successive bills; there were several letters of the privy seal and copies to be paid for; there were an equal number of fees to the king's secretary; a fee "to a squyer of my lord pryvy seall for to help yt yit mygth be seled"; fees to the secretary of the chamberlain and to the chancellor's registrar; "wyne to squyerse and other genthilmen at dyverse tymys"; a fish for the lord chancellor, and lampreys for someone else; to say nothing of sums "for rydyng and costage to London and for his labour & his horse."³⁶

In spite of the fact that the number of sessions of parliament declined and the activities of the commons diminished, the habits of action acquired over two hundred years were not to be lost in a generation or two. On the

³⁵ Cora L. Scofield, *A Study of the Court of Star Chamber* (Chicago, 1900), p. 49.

³⁶ James F. Baldwin, *The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 533-34. Later examples may be found in Isaac S. Leadam, ed., *Select Cases before the King's Council in the Star Chamber* (London [Selden Society], 1911), II, 196 ff.

other hand, the constitutional aspect of the first half of the fifteenth century, together with the prominence of the commons, has been exaggerated by those historians who morally approve of the Lancastrian kings. At the same time, the decline under the Yorkists has been overstressed. If there had not been some advance in both practice and ideas in the fifteenth century, we should not find at the end of the century certain distinctly modern views of parliament as an assembly of three estates. The century did not see the beginning of the modern house of commons; that was the work of the civil wars of the seventeenth century. But it did bridge the gap between the two views of parliament—the older one of parliament as the king's high court of justice, the other and newer one as an assembly representing the communities of the realm, a joint enterprise in which the king, lords, and commons were spoken of together.

This clear dichotomy of ideas was the outcome on the one hand of the original nature of parliament as the *curia regis*, and on the other of the representative character of parliament, as an assembly of elected men who came with full powers to bind their constituencies. The gap was bridged in part by the necessity of acknowledging the increased share of the commons in parliamentary business. In enactment, finance, and diplomacy their share had become explicit, even if the king retained the power of ultimate decision. In other ways the importance of the commons had been acknowledged. It was partly by their sanction that both the deposition of Richard II and the accession of Henry IV were carried through. "It became more and more common, as the century passed, to regard parliament—both in official and in popular contexts—as composed of the three estates of the realm, and therefore as an assembly possessing an authority innate in the natural social orders as well as an authority inherent in the king's court."³⁷

The views of a man like Bishop Russell, who was chancellor in 1483, are of importance in showing the political and constitutional ideas which were current in his day. His drafted speeches are of great significance. In a speech prepared to be delivered in the parliament of Edward V (which, of course, never met) he wrote:

The policie in christian Remes schewethe over alle yn the dayes that we be yn, how theyr public body is compowned of iij notable partes, of the prince, the nobles, and the people. And ther fore havyng to speke at thys tyme of alle iij as they be now here assembled for the wele of thys most nobylle and famous Reme of Englonde, I have taken a trimembrid text suche as I fownd yn the divine servise of yestirdayes fest, the whyche to my purpose impleyethe the present astate of

³⁷ Stanley B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 140.

owre nobles, owre commons, and of owre glorious prince and kynge Edward the Vth here present.³⁸

Predominant, however, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was the notion of parliament as a court. It was an idea which did not completely disappear until well on in the seventeenth century. But the important thing is that alongside with it grew up a set of notions which conceived of parliament as a representative assembly, quite apart from any attributes it might have as a court. Characteristically judicial as the functions of parliament might be, it was "impossible to describe the entire parliamentary phenomenon solely in terms of a court, however high and mighty."³⁹ As early as 1376, Chief Justice Thorpe had stated:

Though proclamation has not been made in the county, everyone is held to know a statute from the time it was made in parliament, for as soon as parliament has decided anything, the law holds that everyone has knowledge of it, for parliament represents the body of all the realm, and therefore proclamation is not necessary unless the statute itself requires it.⁴⁰

This notion of parliament as a representative assembly occurs at intervals in the fifteenth century, especially in the reigns of Henry V and Edward IV. The idea of everyone's being party and privy to parliament particularly helped to carry forward that "notion of parliament as a representative assembly which was destined to qualify very substantially any theory of it as merely one among other courts."⁴¹ For it was only a step from this "to the idea of an act of parliament as deriving its force less from the fact that it had the sanction of the king . . . and more from the fact that every man in England was party and therefore privy to it."⁴²

The assimilation of these divergent ideas had to take place before there could be any suggestion that parliament possessed an authority distinguishable from the authority of a high court. By the end of the fifteenth century, the dichotomy had been to a great extent bridged, and the authority of parliament was thus "a compound of the king's own assent with the assent of at least a majority of the lords spiritual and temporal, and of at least a majority of the members of the house of commons," representing the whole community of the realm.⁴³ "Upon the votes of such an assembly as this the

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76. On this point, see the paper of J. G. Edwards, "The *Plena Potestas* of the English Parliamentary Representatives," in *Oxford Essays Presented to H. E. Salter* (Oxford, 1934). Mr. Edwards suggests that the legal sovereignty of parliament had a double root: the character of parliament as a high court, and the "full powers" of the representatives of the commons. In other words, the fusion of ideas which takes place in the fifteenth century is implicit in the nature of parliament in the thirteenth.

⁴⁰ Chimes, p. 76.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

sovereign lord king depended for his law-making and tax-levying. By the advice and assent of his lords spiritual and temporal and his commons in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, he ordained, established, and enacted."⁴⁴

This new view of parliament as an assembly of estates co-operating with the king took definite shape under the Tudors. It is stated with exceptional clarity in a famous speech made by Henry VIII to the commons. "We be informed by our judges," he said, "that at no time do we stand so highly in our estate royal as in the time of parliament, wherein we as head and you as members are conjoined and knit together in one body politic."⁴⁵

For the commons, the significant development was, as Chrimes says, "their grasp of the notion that they were come to parliament to represent not merely a number of local communities, but an estate: the commons of all the realm."⁴⁶ This view, together with the unity they achieved in parliament as a separate house fortified the position of the commons. "They render," wrote Barbaro of the members of parliament in 1551, "the absolute and royal power legitimate."⁴⁷ But the house of commons became under the Tudors more than a formality of government; it became the recognized voice of public opinion, "more audible than ever before, a voice which Tudors might not always welcome but which they never wholly failed to heed."⁴⁸ The commons could now and then become vociferous, especially when money was asked. "Westminster was not far removed in place or feeling from the streets round St. Paul's where there were great merchants, more assertive than ever, and more listened to."⁴⁹ Opposition was often prolonged, and one of Thomas Cromwell's cherished bills was four years in passing the House.⁵⁰

In the sixteenth century, however, participation and co-operation, what the Germans call *Mitregierungsrecht*, was far more characteristic of the commons than any consistent attempt at opposition legislation. The king and council were still supreme, for no notion of legislative sovereignty had yet made its appearance. Most bills were introduced to the commons by a committee of the Privy Council, and crown officials frequently nursed them along at one stage or another. Although provision was made for members to introduce bills of their own, they seldom made great use of the opportunities

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Quoted in A. F. Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament* (London, 1920), p. 231. See *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XVII, iv, 107.

⁴⁶ Chrimes, p. 141.

⁴⁷ Quoted by Wallace Notestein, *The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons* (London [British Academy], 1924), p. 4.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁰ Roger B. Merriman, *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* (Oxford, 1902), I, 123.

offered. Certainly few acts were passed without the sanction of the Privy Council. The program of a session was planned in advance by the crown. The crown was interested in results, and generally got them.

By the end of Elizabeth's reign, however, things were changing. The membership of the commons began to respond to the great economic advances, at home and on the sea, which had characterized the Elizabethan age. The members returned by the boroughs were more prominent persons, men with a policy in view, who were less moved by the opinions and sentiments of the lords and other great men. The introduction of a committee system for dealing with bills began to filch from Cecil and his colleagues much of the work of drawing up measures. The up-country members realized their increased chances of putting forward successfully private bills, and they did not hesitate to do so. The House, therefore, began to respond more sensitively to what the country at large was thinking.

Impetus was given to these new tendencies at the accession of James I. James did not understand England or the Tudor government. His point of view was foreign. He failed, for one thing, to secure the election to the commons of influential Privy Councilors, men who would guide bills through the committee stages. He made no attempt to control elections and secure a favorable majority in the House. More than that he antagonized the commons with too many messages and with too much talk, too much theorizing about the "divine right" by which he ruled. Opposition began, tentative at first, but more pronounced as the seventeenth century advanced. In 1604, in the famous "Commons' Apology," it was stated: "With all humble and due respect to Your Majesty . . . our privileges and liberties are our right and due inheritance, no less than our very lands and goods. . . . They cannot be withheld from us, denied or impaired, but with apparent wrong to the whole state of the realm."⁵¹

The steps by which the opposition of the commons was slowly crystallized, and by which the House began to take a firm stand against the king, need not be traced. It has been admirably recounted by Professor Notestein in his brilliant essay, *The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons*. By the 1620's, the commons had not only attained a great degree of political self-consciousness, a self-consciousness which had been fostered by the new individualism and the new religious feelings born of the Reformation but they had actually seized the reins in parliament. A change in personnel had brought to the fore men who were less subservient to the royal and conciliar

⁵¹ George W. Prothero, ed., *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents Illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I* (Oxford, 1894), p. 288.

will. "Lawyers crowded into the Commons and brought with them not only legal skill but initiative. Along with lawyers came antiquarians, who searched out precedents to give sanction to the new leadership."⁵² Precedents from the age of Edward III and Henry IV were uncovered in the Tower and in the private accumulations of manuscripts, such as that of Sir Robert Cotton—precedents which seemed to men of the seventeenth century proof of the privileges, rights and power of the commons at an early date. To them, "old wars, old peace, old arts that cease" were as yesterday. "Long before Stubbs and Gneist had used the printed rolls of Parliament, Cotton, Noy, and Hakewill read the rolls in manuscript and out of them forged chains to bind fast Stuart kings."⁵³

By the third decade of the seventeenth century, the commons were in charge of the initiation, formulation, and passage of laws. They were the tail that wagged the dog. John Selden could remark, "The House of Commons is called the Lower House in twenty acts of Parliament; but what are twenty acts of Parliament amongst friends?"⁵⁴ By the 1640's, the wheel had come full circle. In the Militia Act of 1642, the commons repudiated for the first time the fiction of parliament as a court and transferred to themselves the sovereign authority attributed to the king "by lawyers in his ideal character. They assumed to themselves the supreme power of the state, retaining nothing of monarchy but the name."⁵⁵

It was asserted in the Militia Act:

It is acknowledged that the King is the Fountain of Justice and Protection, but the Acts of Justice and Protection are not exercised in his own Person, nor depend upon his pleasure but by his Courts. . . . The High Court of Parliament is not only a Court of Judicature, enabled by the Laws to adjudge and determine the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, . . . but it is likewise a Council to provide for the necessity, to prevent the imminent Dangers, and preserve the publick Peace and Safety of the Kingdom.⁵⁶

"By this memorable declaration," says John Allen, "which was the groundwork of all the subsequent proceedings of the parliament in the civil wars that ensued, it is obvious that the two houses . . . separated the politic from the natural capacity of the King."⁵⁷ The modern house of commons was born.

⁵² Notestein, p. 47.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁵⁴ Frederick Pollock, ed., *Table Talk of John Selden* (London [Selden Society], 1927), p. 33.

⁵⁵ John Allen, *Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England* (London, 1849), pp. 83–84.

⁵⁶ John Rushworth, *Historical Collections* (London, 1692), IV, 551–52.

⁵⁷ Allen, p. 83.

If the story of the evolution of parliament is important, it is not because of its antiquity or its curiously varied history. More significant than the variations in the institutional framework is the persistence of certain permanent characteristics of the institution. In the course of the seven centuries of its history, parliament has been the tool of monarchs, oligarchs, and democratists; yet the presence of elected representatives has been constant since the thirteenth century. Today, representative institutions are a basic fact in government; and it is to be observed that in politics, as in medicine or law, the most constant phenomena are on the whole the most important.

The history of parliament has an added importance in illustrating significant uniformities in the actions and behavior of men. Because of the persistence of representation as a characteristic of modern institutions, people's sentiments have in the course of time become inextricably attached both to parliament and to representative institutions. Myths have been developed to perpetuate them, and fictions have been elaborated to explain changes in terms of the old and the familiar; with the result that parliamentary government in England today is little short of a jumble of shams which have been unconsciously worked out to justify the changes which have actually occurred.

Too often, however, there is a tendency to ignore the commonplace, to take an institution for granted because it exists; or else to seek to justify it with complicated rationalizations. Too often also, when the institution is studied, it is studied as such, rather than as an artifice which contributes to the stability of the social equilibrium. Institutions are really no more than the symbols, the rationalizations of the sentiments of society. They are abstractions, "chiefly constructed on observed uniformities in concrete acts."⁵⁸ Institutions must be studied as such, as part of the "folklore" of an age, rather than as fundamental or immutable principles.

Until recently, the objectiveness of historians who described the beginnings of parliamentary institutions was not very marked. Bishop Stubbs and E. A. Freeman, for example, were forever intent on searching for early instances of the unity and the power of the commons in the thirteenth century, or for evidence of the resuscitation of the primitive Germanic freedom which they thought had been chained in by autocratic kings.⁵⁹ To some extent this point of view was the result of the writings of the antiquarians

⁵⁸ Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), p. 286.

⁵⁹ Such views were not restricted to the nineteenth century. See the statement of Giovanni Michiel, quoted, *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1556-1557*, p. 1052: "It is certain that at the beginning, when the Parliaments were ordained, and for many subsequent years, their license and security were so great that the most insignificant members seated in them might without any danger (even had he spoken against the king's person) have said freely whatever he thought most becoming patriotic zeal and the common weal."

of the Elizabethan and Stuart ages, men like Cotton, Coke, D'Ewes, and Prynne, who, for purposes of propaganda, conjured into medieval history a golden age of parliamentary liberties. Because they attempted to justify the authority of the seventeenth century house of commons with precedents drawn indiscriminately from the age of Edward III, "history was set in bondage to a myth, the influence of which has not easily spent itself."⁶⁰ Stubbs's point of view was further reinforced by wishful thinking common to Victorian liberals, who believed implicitly in progress and in the sacredness of democracy as they saw it in the nineteenth century house of commons. They set for half a century historical standards by which the evolution of the house of commons was to be described.

But as the haze cast by seventeenth century constitutionalism and nineteenth century democracy begins to clear, certain features of the beginnings of representative government are distinctly revealed. In the first place, it is clear that the house of commons did not grow up in response to any urge to self-government inherent in the Anglo-Saxon blood. Nor was there any act of creation on the part of Simon de Montfort or Edward I, prompted by sentiments of liberty or democracy. Parliaments were called in the beginning because they facilitated the collection of aids and enabled the king more easily to centralize his administration. The steps by which representatives came to be called regularly to meet before the council were taken to meet certain immediate needs, without a thought of possible ultimate consequences.⁶¹ The lack of direction toward the ultimate end arrived at is one of the most prominent facts in the evolution of the house of commons.

Parliament remained throughout the Middle Ages essentially what it had been in the thirteenth century—a strongly reinforced session of the king's council. Essentially parliament was a court, devised to dispense a kind of higher justice; its business appeared, until the seventeenth century, as largely judicial. Even what we should call its "legislative" acts were regarded merely as the decisions of new cases. This characteristic of parliament affected fundamentally the position of the representative element. In spite of their increasing activities in finance, legislation, and administration, the commons remained through at least the sixteenth century the servant and petitioner of the prerogative in the king's high court of parliament. Their ultimate consolidation, too, was a result of this fact. They "first achieved a corporate identity and a name just because they were not parliament."⁶²

⁶⁰ J. E. Neale, in *Tudor Studies Presented to A. F. Pollard*, p. 257.

⁶¹ On this uniformity in the development of political institutions, see A. Lawrence Lowell's address at the Harvard Tercentenary in 1936, printed in *What a University President Has Learned* (New York, 1938), pp. 134–50.

⁶² Kenneth Pickthorn, *Early Tudor Government* (London, 1934), I, 96.

However, political conditions and the changes which had actually taken place in parliament in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries meant that this notion of parliament as a court could not long endure without modification. It was clear that parliament was, however judicial its functions might appear, also a representative assembly. The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw their further consolidation. New social theories, encouraged by the ideas of the Huguenots and the Presbyterians, made for the increasing political self-consciousness of the house of commons. Representatives, who were no more than "local men, locally-minded, whose business began and ended with the interests of the constituency"⁶³ gave way to lawyers and members of the country gentry, who invaded the borough seats. Incited by the exaggerated claims of the Stuart kings, the commons took issue with the crown directly as to the ultimate basis of authority in the state. The time had come to rationalize the institutions of government in terms of what was to be called popular sovereignty. Yet no real revolution was necessary: people found that what they had come to want to do they had been doing for several centuries. Under royal compulsion they had had much experience and training in self-government. Without knowing what the outcome would be, the English kings had been utilizing to the full the immemorial habits of common action of people in the county, the town, and the parish.⁶⁴

The real basis of what we call institutions must always be in the sentiments of people who operate within their framework: essentially this means the formal and informal organizations of people near the bottom of the social structure. Some coercive authority—objectified in the head of the state—is always necessary as a fiction to give a *sense* of the organization, or to establish "a presumption among individuals in favor of the acceptability of orders from superiors."⁶⁵ But authority, in the last analysis, must come from those to whom it applies.⁶⁶

⁶³ *Interim Report of the Committee on House of Commons Personnel and Politics, 1264-1832* (London, 1932), p. 51.

⁶⁴ The extent to which freeholders in the Middle Ages were forced to perform unpaid services for the government has been taken up in the stimulating essay of Albert B. White, *Self-Government at the King's Command* (Minneapolis, 1933).

⁶⁵ Barnard, p. 170.

⁶⁶ The question of the nature of authority has been penetratingly discussed by Barnard, chap. xii.

Hieronymus of Cardia

TRUESDELL S. BROWN*

THE personal influence of a historian is never more persistent than when he apparently allows the "facts" to speak for themselves, particularly when he is a man of integrity who believes in the exclusive validity of his own interpretation. Hieronymus of Cardia evidently belongs to this select group.¹ His character, influence, and ability have been appreciated only gradually as the result of modern investigation. But this is a triumph when we consider that the original work has been lost. The reappearance of this major figure in Greek historiography has perhaps inevitably been accompanied by some distortion. The purpose of this paper is to suggest certain limitations in Hieronymus and in his environment that should be weighed before we accept *in toto* his judgment on the period following Alexander's death.

Ancient testimony about Hieronymus may be summarized rapidly.² There seems no doubt that he was a Greek from Cardia.³ He was the friend and perhaps the relative of Alexander's chief secretary (ἀρχιγραμματεὺς), Eumenes,⁴ whom he joined at least as early as the campaign against Ariarathes in 322 B.C.⁵ In the battle preceding Eumenes' betrayal and death Hieronymus was wounded and became the captive of Antigonus the One-Eyed.⁶ Previously Hieronymus had been employed by Eumenes on delicate diplomatic missions,⁷ and once before he had been summoned and personally rewarded by Antigonus, who hoped in this way to influence Eumenes.⁸ After the execution of Eumenes, Hieronymus entered the service of Antigonus,⁹ under whom he held the temporary post of governor of the Asphalt Lake (*i.e.* the Dead

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¹ For a brief but expert opinion see W. W. Tarn, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, VII, 203-204. For an even more favorable judgment see Ulrich Köhler, "Über die Diadochengeschichte Arrian's," *Königliche Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Sitzungsberichte* (1890), p. 558.

² For the texts see Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (F.Gr.H.), II B (Berlin, 1929), no. 154, Hieronymos von Kardia. Testimonia (T) will be found on pp. 829 f., the Fragments (F) on pp. 830-35.

³ Jacoby, F.Gr.H., II B, 829, T 1=Suidas s.v. Ἱερώνυμος Καρδιανός; T 4=Diod. Sic. XVIII. 50.4; T 5=*ibid.* XIX. 44.3.

⁴ *Ibid.* T 4. Eumenes had a son named Hieronymus (Arrian, *Indica* 18). This suggests that Eumenes and the historian were related. See Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 558. For Eumenes' title see Plut. *Eumenes* 1.

⁵ On the basis of F 3=Appian, *Mithr.* 8. See Jacoby's article, "Hieronymos," no. 10, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (R.E.), VIII (1913), 1540.

⁶ See T 5=Diod. XIX. 44.3.

⁸ See T 4=Diod. XVIII. 50.4.

⁷ See T 3=Diod. XVIII. 42.1.

⁹ See T 5=Diod. XIX. 44.3.

Sea),¹⁰ and we know that after Antigonus' death he once acted as governor and harmost of the Boeotian cities for Antigonus' son, Demetrius Poliorcetes.¹¹ This almost exhausts the direct testimony on the whereabouts of our author. However, if modern scholars are right in regarding Hieronymus as the source behind Diodorus and other writers on the period, we may infer Hieronymus' firsthand acquaintance with events wherever Diodorus' narrative is particularly circumstantial.¹² On this basis we may believe he was one of the "friends" assigned to Demetrius for his maiden campaign at Gaza in 312.¹³ This is particularly suggestive because he would have met the famous Cretan navigator and historian, Nearchus, who makes his last appearance at Gaza.¹⁴ It is probable, though not certain, that Hieronymus was present at the battle of Ipsus in 301.¹⁵ In later years we gather that he was a familiar figure at the court of Antigonus Gonatas,¹⁶ and that he lived to write of Pyrrhus' death in 272 B.C. We are told that he reached the amazing age of 104 with faculties unimpaired.¹⁷ This last statement, attributed by Pseudo-Lucian to Agatharchides, derives ultimately from Hieronymus himself, if we are to accept Jacoby's opinion.¹⁸ Nevertheless, casualness about vital statistics in antiquity imposes caution on modern inquiries,¹⁹ a caution which is enhanced in this case by the fact that at 104 Hieronymus would have been in his 105th year. But 105 is equal to the sum of the first fourteen numbers, a suspicious cir-

¹⁰ See T 6=Diod. XIX. 100.1-3. Josephus wrongly calls him governor of Syria. See F 6 and Jacoby's comment on T 6, *F.Gr.H.*, II D, 545.

¹¹ See T 8=Plut. *Demetrius* 39.3-7.

¹² This applies to the main thread of the narrative in Diodorus Siculus, where Diodorus is not demonstrably following some author other than Hieronymus. The results of modern criticism are summarized below, p. 692; see also notes 65 f.

¹³ He is not mentioned as one of the four "advisers" (σύμβουλοι) of Diod. XIX. 69.1, but may have been included in the larger group of "friends" (φίλοι) referred to, *ibid.* XIX. 81.1; 85.2. The detailed account of the battle and its sequel makes it probable that Hieronymus had been present. See Jacoby, "Hieronymos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1541.

¹⁴ See Diod. XIX. 69.1. None of the Testimonia on Nearchus given by Jacoby, *F.Gr.H.*, II B, 677-80 is later than this passage, which appears as T 13c, p. 680.

¹⁵ A passage in Pseudo-Lucian (*Macrob.* 11=Hieron. F 8) tells us simply that Antigonus died at Ipsus of his wounds, "as his fellow campaigner, Hieronymus, relates." Wilhelm Nitsche, "König Philipp's Brief an die Athener und Hieronymos von Kardia" (Berlin, 1876), p. 4, regards this as conclusive. Jacoby, *F.Gr.H.*, II D, 545, T 8, is more cautious.

¹⁶ Based on Hieronymus T 11=Pausanias I. 9.8 and on the less trustworthy T 9=Theon *Vit.Arat.* p. 147, 18M, the fact is not disputable. Cf. Nitsche, *op. cit.* p. 5; William W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford, 1913); *Hellenistic Civilisation* (2d ed., London, 1930), p. 250; and Jacoby, "Hieronymos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1541-42. Jacoby rightly points out that Pausanias can only have meant Antigonus Gonatas, not the older Monophthalmus.

¹⁷ See T 2=Ps.-Lucian *Macrob.* 22. It is repeated by Tarn, *Antig. Gon.*, p. 246.

¹⁸ See Jacoby, "Hieronymos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1542; and for a more uncompromising statement, *F.Gr.H.*, II D, 545, on T 2.

¹⁹ See Julius Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Leipzig, 1886), esp. pp. 7 f. Even if Jacoby is right in thinking that this figure comes from Hieronymus, is it certain that Hieronymus would have had even an approximately accurate knowledge of his own age? Certain Roman grave inscriptions show the age of the deceased with great precision, even to months and days; but Beloch believes this apparent accuracy merely results from reckoning a plausible round number back from the last birthday! *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

cumstance among a people given to mystical numerical combinations.²⁰ Therefore it seems futile to use the figure 104 to determine Hieronymus' age when he entered the service of Antigonus.²¹ That he lived to an advanced age is sufficiently attested by the fact that he was old enough to enjoy the confidence of Eumenes and that he lived to record the death of Pyrrhus. Everything else belongs to the realm of pure speculation.

One episode in the life of Hieronymus has caused some embarrassment, his entering the service of Antigonus immediately after Antigonus had executed Eumenes, his compatriot and benefactor. The passage in Diodorus Siculus, our best source, is worth quoting:

2. He [*i.e.*, Antigonus] put Eumenes under guard while he took counsel what to do with him. He was anxious to have on his side a brave general who was under obligations to him, but he had no faith in Eumenes' promises, because of his devotion to Olympias and to the Kings. In fact when he had been saved once before by Antigonus at Nora in Phrygia, he was not any less zealous in fighting for the Kings. So seeing that the desire of the Macedonians was set on revenge against Eumenes, he put the man to death. He cremated the body, because of their former friendship, and placing the bones in a vessel, he sent them to the family.
3. Among the wounded taken prisoner was Hieronymus the Cardian, who wrote the histories, and who had formerly been held in honor by Eumenes. After Eumenes' death, he enjoyed the patronage and the confidence of Antigonus.²²

Wilhelm Nitsche, who perhaps contributed more than any other scholar to the re-establishment of Hieronymus among the ancient historians, cites the episode as evidence for Hieronymus' candor under circumstances where his conduct might appear to be ambiguous,²³ and then later denies that Hieronymus ever became Antigonus' truest friend at the expense of his loyalty to the memory of Eumenes.²⁴ Nitsche wisely declines to discuss Hieronymus' motives, but suggests that the historian left such matters to the judgment of his readers.²⁵ He does insist, however, that when Plutarch says that Demetrius interceded with his father for the life of Eumenes he was following Hieronymus.²⁶ On that basis it might be possible to infer that the historian wished

²⁰ Perhaps two examples among many may suffice to show the Greek disposition to attach significance to fanciful numerical combinations. In the *Laws* (V 740) Plato insists on the maintenance of a population of exactly 5,040, which is apparently derived from the expansion of 7 (7!). A number greatly favored by the Pythagoreans was the number 36 (the sum of the first eight digits). See Léon Robin, *La pensée grecque* (Paris, 1928), p. 73. It is unnecessary to press this argument too far. It merely adds to the incredulity one feels on first reading Agatharchides' statement.

²¹ As Jacoby does. See "Hieronymos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1542. Nitsche also accepts Agatharchides' evidence without qualification. See "König Ph. Brief an die Ath.," p. 3.

²² Diod. XIX. 44.2-3.

²³ Nitsche, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁶ *Ibid.* See Plut. *Eumenes* 18, where Nearchus is also said to have interceded with Antigonus.

to emphasize his own attachment to Demetrius the clement, rather than to that terrifying old man, Antigonus. But there is little to recommend Jacoby's suggestion that Hieronymus may have been induced to follow Antigonus because of Antigonus' apparent reluctance to kill Eumenes, and because he paid suitable honors to the body of his former foe.²⁷ What is Jacoby's source for this inference? It can only be that same eighteenth chapter of Plutarch's *Eumenes*. Plutarch tells us that Antigonus was filled with pity for his old friend and that he only resolved on his execution as the result of a general clamor for his death. In Plutarch this directly motivates Antigonus' hatred of the Argyraspid traitors whom he orders Sibyrtius to exterminate,²⁸ yet Jacoby cites this episode of the Argyraspids as an example of Plutarch's manifest unreliability, and corrects Plutarch by referring to Diodorus.²⁹ The two Plutarch passages are so related that they must stand or fall together. If we reject Plutarch on the Argyraspids we must also reject him on the execution of Eumenes. In the Diodorus passage quoted above we are told expressly that Antigonus put Eumenes to death because he could not trust him after the Nora episode. That is sufficient explanation, it is in keeping with Antigonus' character, and it directly contradicts Plutarch.³⁰ There is of course no way of proving whether or not Plutarch is following Hieronymus when he has Demetrius and Nearchus intercede for Eumenes. But at least their intercession in no way contradicts Diodorus, who merely tells us the Macedonians desired Eumenes' death. While Plutarch did exaggerate for rhetorical effect he was far too honest a writer to manufacture an incident without basis in his source.

Keeping in mind these known biographical details let us consider Hieronymus' qualifications to become the historian of his period. We may begin with a general statement that Hieronymus' connections with Eumenes, Alexander's secretary, and subsequently with the three first Antigonids would have given him access to official correspondence and other documentary

²⁷ See Jacoby, "Hieronymos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1541.

²⁸ Plut. *Eumenes* 19.

²⁹ Jacoby, "Hieronymos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1559.

³⁰ The contradiction apparently comes through Plutarch's own interpretation of the same source as that used by Diodorus. In both versions Antigonus takes account of the clamor for Eumenes' death, in both he is mindful of his old friendship for Eumenes, and in both he exacts punishment on the Argyraspids. But in Diodorus the clamor enables Antigonus to carry out the policy he already regarded as desirable; his friendship for Eumenes is shown only by burial honors after Eumenes could do him no harm. In Diodorus, Antigonus assigned, "the most troublesome of the Argyraspidae," to Sibyrtius, "ostensibly for use in war, actually for their destruction." But the version in Diodorus makes it clear that not all the Argyraspids are meant and also that Antigonus was not moved by honest indignation. After pointing out that Eumenes' betrayers immediately suffered vengeance, Diodorus (*i.e.*, Hieronymus) makes this cynical observation: "For impious deeds are useful to rulers because of their power, but generally cause great harm to private subjects." Diod. XIX. 48.3-4. For another instance of Antigonus' betrayal of his instruments when they had served their purpose, see Diod. XX. 37.5-6.

material, the use of which can still be detected in the derivative account by Diodorus.³¹ In following Eumenes, Antigonus, and Demetrius he must have acquired a feeling for the extent of Alexander's empire, the "whole" (τὰ ὅλα) for which the Diadochi were contending. Cappadocia he certainly knew,³² and Cilicia, Phoenicia, and Palestine,³³ while he saw enough of the Nabataean Arabs for their way of life to make an indelible impression on him.³⁴ The famous cities of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis were all known to him,³⁵ and he may well have reached the borders of Egypt during Antigonus' ill-starred land and sea invasion.³⁶ He must have been familiar also with the chief cities of Greece. Even the scanty fragments of his work indicate that his knowledge of Corinth was detailed.³⁷ So far as we can see he did not know Italy or Sicily at first hand, and would have depended on works like the memoirs of Pyrrhus.³⁸ The satrapies in the farther east Hieronymus would probably have known only by report. But the muster of the eastern satraps in support of Eumenes must have given the historian a sense of the vast regions beyond Persepolis. He seems to have been particularly interested in the Indian contingent.³⁹

Even more valuable for the future historian of the Diadochi must have been the opportunity of knowing so many of the leading actors in the drama. The vivid impression made on the author by Antigonus the One-Eyed, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Eumenes, Phila, and a host of only less famous persons still betrays itself in the derivative accounts.⁴⁰ Those whom he had not seen

³¹ Wilhelm Nitsche shows that the reference to Philip's statement in Diod. XVIII. 10.1 comes from a letter of Philip to the Athenians. See his "König Ph. Brief an die Ath.," pp. 2 f. The provisions of the Athenian decree (Diod. XVIII. 10.2-3) Hieronymus may have learned from Craterus, who published the first known collection of Athenian inscriptions and was perhaps half-brother to Gonatas (see Tarn, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, VII, p. 203). Also worth mentioning are the decree of Polyperchon and the Kings (Diod. XVIII. 56); Polyperchon's letter to Eumenes (*ibid.* XVIII. 57.3-4); Olympias' letter to Eumenes with Eumenes' reply (*ibid.* XVIII. 58.2-4); Antigonus' letter to the Argyraspids (*ibid.* XVIII. 63.2).

³² As evidenced by a fragment. See Jacoby, *F.Gr.H.*, II B, 831, F 3=Appian *Mithrid.* 8.

³³ He almost certainly accompanied Eumenes and later Demetrius. Josephus vouches for Hieronymus' familiarity, while resenting his neglect of the Jews in his history. See F 6=Josephus, *contra Apion* I, 213-4.

³⁴ Diodorus (XIX. 94-9) has an elaborate account of these Arabs. Hieronymus must have written many similar excursuses that have not survived.

³⁵ Because he accompanied Eumenes.

³⁶ He was certainly attached either to Antigonus or Demetrius. Both participated in the attack on Egypt.

³⁷ See Jacoby, *F.Gr.H.*, II B, p. 834, F 16=Strabo VIII. 6.21.

³⁸ His use of Pyrrhus' memoirs is shown by F 12 *ad fin.*=Plut. *Pyrrhus* 21.12.

³⁹ The death of the Indian, Ceteus, in battle fighting for Eumenes, led to a contest between his two widows for the privilege of accompanying him to the other world. Diodorus (XIX. 33-4) gives a vivid account of the episode. Hieronymus was probably an eyewitness. For the muster of the upper satrapies see Diod. XIX. 14; for Peucestas' magnificent entertainment of the army see *ibid.* XIX. 22.

⁴⁰ It would be tedious to cite the many passages showing a vivid recollection of Antigonus and Eumenes. For Demetrius see Diod. XIX. 81.4; XX. 2-5; for Phila, *ibid.* XIX. 59.3-6 and Plut. *Demetrius* 45.

Hieronymus would have known at second hand through conversation with mercenaries, who circulated freely from one employer to another. So much was this taken for granted that we even find Antigonus agreeing to give mercenaries arrears in pay which they told him Lysimachus had owed them before they came over to the other side!⁴¹ This changing of sides was by no means confined to mercenaries. Antigenes is represented as a paragon of loyalty because he obeyed the orders of the kings to stay under Eumenes, even persuading his fellow commander, Teutamus, to do likewise.⁴² This is all the more remarkable when we recall that this same Antigenes had shown his loyalty to the crown on an earlier occasion by helping to assassinate its leading representative, Perdikkas.⁴³ Such rapid shifts by individuals would tend to make the headquarters of any of the generals pretty much a cross section of the Macedonian world within a very short space of time. A factor limiting Hieronymus' information would certainly have been the prejudice of men who had recently changed masters. Other distortions are inseparable from court gossip, to which Hieronymus was more than ordinarily exposed. The story of Cleopatra's murder in Diodorus Siculus is too neat, and Antigonus' disposal of her waiting women reminds one of Macbeth and Duncan's grooms.⁴⁴ The description of Eurydice's death is also good theater, but suspect as history.⁴⁵

At this point it would be helpful if we could clarify the position of Hieronymus himself, under Eumenes and also under the Antigonids. Unfortunately the evidence is all largely negative. For a Greek to rise high in the Macedonian service he must have special qualifications. Nearchus was an expert seaman with whom no Macedonian could be compared; Stasander and Stasanor were probably brothers from the ruling house of Soli in Cyprus, and may have owed their satrapies to this fact.⁴⁶ Cypriote support had been very valuable to Alexander at Tyre.⁴⁷ Eumenes' opportunity came as Alexander's secretary, not because of his great but still unsuspected military ability.⁴⁸ It may be assumed that Hieronymus got his start through the help of his compatriot, Eumenes, and it is reasonable to accept Jacoby's suggestion that he began as a secretary too.⁴⁹ Hieronymus' own ability and Eumenes'

⁴¹ Diod. XX. 113.3. ⁴² *Ibid.* XVIII. 62.5-6.

⁴³ See Arrian, *Tὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*, F 1.35 (Teubner text of Arrian, ed. by A. G. Roos, II, 266).

⁴⁴ See Diod. XX. 37.5-6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* XIX. 11.4-7.

⁴⁶ See Tarn, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, VI, 391, 470.

⁴⁷ See Arrian, *Anabasis* II, 20.6-8.

⁴⁸ Cf. Plut. *Eumenes* 1 with Nepos *Eum.* 4-6. Nepos says Eumenes served as secretary (*scriba*) for seven years under Philip.

⁴⁹ Jacoby, "Hieronymos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1541.

need of loyal men would then account for his employment as a negotiator.⁵⁰ Unlike Eumenes he had no hidden military talents or they would certainly have been developed, and duly described.⁵¹ Nor does he seem to have shown unusual administrative gifts, if we are to judge by the only two instances where we know he acted as governor. The Arabs ended his administration of the Dead Sea, and the Boeotians revolted in Demetrius' absence, apparently while Hieronymus was their governor and harmost.⁵² However, lack of exceptional military or administrative talents need not preclude historical insight and judgment, as Thucydides had already shown. More important is the narrowness of the environment in which, to the best of our knowledge, Hieronymus' character was formed.

His native city of Cardia was a Hellenic outpost. Founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Miletus and Clazomenae in the seventh century,⁵³ Cardia experienced violent changes. There must have been a bitter struggle with the Thracians—both within and without the peninsula—the Dolonci and the Apsinthians. With the approval of Delphi and of Pisistratus and at the request of the Dolonci, the elder Miltiades led an Athenian colony to Cardia and ruled there.⁵⁴ It was from Cardia that his famous namesake later departed for Athens in order to avoid the Persians. Persian rule in Cardia was probably short, and we hear of Cardia again as an Athenian naval base during the Peloponnesian War.⁵⁵ During the fourth century it is clear from scattered references of Demosthenes that Cardia asserted her independence of Athens with the assistance of Macedonia.⁵⁶ At some indeterminate period Cardia was held by a tyrant, Hecataeus, and we are told that Eumenes and Hecataeus were hereditary enemies, and also that Eumenes was always begging Alexander to expel the tyrant and restore freedom to the Cardians.⁵⁷ Cardia with its mixed population, tyrannical government, and dependence on Macedon was not calculated to give Hieronymus a clear understanding of city-state politics or of the Greek ideal of autonomy so tragically important during the fifty

⁵⁰ See Jacoby, *F.Gr.H.*, II B, 829, T 3=Diod. XVIII. 42.1; T 4=Diod. XVIII. 50.4.

⁵¹ Jacoby agrees with Beloch that Hieronymus referred to himself more than was necessary "Hieronymos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1540.

⁵² For title see Jacoby, *F.Gr.H.*, II B, 830, T 8=Plut. *Demetr.* 39.3-7.

⁵³ See Gustave Glotz and Robert Cohen, *Histoire grecque* (second part of *Histoire ancienne*), I (Paris, 1938), 163, 274.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 459; and P. N. Ure, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 103.

⁵⁵ For Miltiades see J. A. R. Munro, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 229; for Cardia as an Athenian naval base, see Xenophon *Hellenica*, I. 1.11. Cf. B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), I, 563-65.

⁵⁶ See Demosthenes, V. 25; VII. 41-4; VIII. 58; 64; IX. 35; XII. 11; XXIII. 169. See also Diod. XVI. 34 for Cersobleptes' restoration of all the Thracian Chersonese except Cardia to Athens. Philip's interest in Cardia is illustrated by the story that Eumenes' father entertained Philip. See Plut. *Eum.* 1.

⁵⁷ Plut. *Eum.* 3.

years following Alexander's death. Nor would the historian's subsequent life probably have remedied the deficiency. From the Hellenic point of view Hieronymus was not a free man but an agent. Unlike Polybius he can scarcely have taken an active part as a citizen. In later years, even though he might visit Athens and other Greek cities it would always have been as the retainer of Antigonus. And that would certainly have stopped some conversations which it would have been useful for Hieronymus the historian to hear. However, Pausanias tells us that Hieronymus was angered by the destruction of Cardia to make way for Lysimacheia.⁵⁸ Apparently the loyal servant of the Macedonians did not entirely obscure the Greek patriot. Nevertheless, the environment in which Hieronymus lived was apt to stress the importance of the Macedonian compared with the Greek, and royal government compared with city-state or league.

To complete our picture of the environment in which Hieronymus' judgments were formed we must also remember that he certainly did not complete his history before 272 B.C.—since we know that he described the death of Pyrrhus—and that he probably did not even begin writing his history until late in life.⁵⁹ By that time what Rostovtzeff has well called the "heroic" part of the Hellenistic period had drawn to a close.⁶⁰ Few people still believed either in the possible unity of Alexander's empire or in the "freedom" of the Greeks. The Gauls had come in; prices were up, and wages were low.⁶¹ The theatrical though engaging Demetrius Poliorcetes had drunk himself to death after the failure of his own grandiose schemes, while his son, Antigonus Gonatas, sat on the Macedonian throne husbanding his meager resources. For a man who had known the enthusiasm of the generation of Alexander the results must have been extremely depressing, particularly the change from an age in which nothing seemed impossible to a more prosaic period of small undertakings. Perhaps this is all that may legitimately be inferred about Hieronymus' career and environment. For further light we must turn to the history itself.

It is disappointing to find that only nineteen fragments of Hieronymus' work have survived, that one of these is doubtful, and that in Jacoby's text they amount to something less than five pages all told. Were we dependent on them alone it would be ridiculous to attempt an evaluation of the original.

⁵⁸ See Jacoby, *F.Gr.H.*, II B, 832, F 9=Pausanias I. 9.8.

⁵⁹ See Nitsche, "König Ph. Brief an die Ath.," p. 5; Tarn, *Antig. Gon.*, p. 246; Jacoby, "Hieronimos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1542.

⁶⁰ Michael Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I (Oxford, 1941), 2.

⁶¹ See Tarn, "The Social Question in the Third Century," in *The Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, 1925), esp. pp. 124 f.

However, modern scholarship, the results of which have been assumed in the foregoing discussion, has made it likely that ancient accounts of the half century following Alexander derive from a common source and that Hieronymus is that source.⁶² Our information is more detailed for the twenty-two years preceding Ipsus, thanks partly to Arrian's *Tὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον* and largely to Diodorus Siculus' *Historical Library*, Books XVIII-XX,⁶³ with supplementary data from Plutarch, Justin, and Nepos. As the longest consecutive account derived from Hieronymus, Diodorus Siculus has been the subject of exhaustive study. His abridgment was less drastic and more competent than that of Justin,⁶⁴ and also the plan of his history was better adapted to incorporating considerable sequences from Hieronymus than was the biographical plan of Plutarch or Nepos. One might add that Diodorus' lack of a vigorous interpretation of his own makes him a better filter than a more gifted writer would have been. It would be superfluous to recapitulate the analyses of these three books, but it may be useful to summarize conclusions.⁶⁵

There is general agreement that the substance of the work is derived from Hieronymus, but there remains a doubt whether Diodorus used Hieronymus direct or through one or more intermediaries.⁶⁶ There is also agreement that at least a substantial portion of the passages dealing with Agathocles and Sicily come not from Hieronymus but from Duris of Samos.⁶⁷ There remains the likelihood that an unknown number of passages have been interpolated by Diodorus from still other sources.⁶⁸ Consequently, while there is often sharp debate over particular passages,⁶⁹ the tone of Diodorus' narrative is

⁶² See E. Schwartz, "Diodoros," no. 38, *R.E.*, V (1905), esp. 684 f. Also see Jacoby, *F.Gr.H.*, II D, 544. The chief qualifications are mentioned in notes 66-69 and below.

⁶³ The former survives in detail only for the three years following Alexander's death. The most useful discussion of Arrian's source is still that of Köhler, in Königl. Preuss. Akad. Berlin, *Sitzungsberichte* (1890), pp. 555-88. The two standard editions differ widely in their arrangement of the fragments. Cf. Jacoby, *F.Gr.H.*, II B (Berlin, 1929), 840-51, and his commentary, II D (Berlin, 1930), 553-63 with A. G. Roos, *Flavii Arriani quae exstant omnia*, II (Leipzig [Teubner], 1928), 253-90. Diodorus' twentieth book closes just before Ipsus, while only unsatisfactory fragments of the succeeding books survive.

⁶⁴ Justin was himself making an abridgment of an earlier abridgment by Pompeius Trogus. Comparison with Diodorus shows essential similarity in plan, but also shows the slovenly workmanship of Justin. The meager story after Ipsus, when more use must be made of Justin, sufficiently illustrates the superiority of Diodorus.

⁶⁵ Most information will be found in Nitsche, "König Ph. Brief an die Ath.," pp. 1-30.

⁶⁶ Certainty is unattainable. Jacoby thinks it probable Diodorus used Hieronymus direct (*F.Gr.H.*, II D, 544 *ad fin.*). If he followed a secondary work, it must have been excellent.

⁶⁷ This forms a considerable portion, especially of Book XX. See Nitsche, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Jacoby, "Hieronymos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1553-4. Köhler (*op. cit.*, pp. 586 f.) attacks Droysen's view that Duris wrote before Hieronymus. Jacoby supports Droysen, and holds that Hieronymus wrote in part to refute Duris (*F.Gr.H.*, II D, 544, l. 22).

⁶⁸ Jacoby, *ibid.*

⁶⁹ E.g., the account of the Rhodian flood (Diod. XIX, 45) suggests to Jacoby that Diodorus here follows a Rhodian source (*ibid.*, 1554); while Nitsche held Hieronymus had a special interest in Rhodes ("König Ph. Brief an die Ath.," p. 12). Perhaps the most celebrated dispute has been that between W. W. Tarn and Ulrich Wilcken over the authenticity of Alexander's

recognized as that of Hieronymus. In general, we find that the account has the following main characteristics: interest in and sympathy for the royal Macedonian house; greater detail on Eumenes, Antigonus, and Demetrius than on their adversaries; judgments usually based on whether a policy was practicable rather than on whether it was morally justifiable;⁷⁰ a cynical attitude toward the promises of freedom made to the Greeks;⁷¹ and a sense of the futility of all attempts to hold the empire together.⁷²

It is now time to consider the merits of Hieronymus' interpretation of the history of his times. The fact that his interpretation is the only one we possess from antiquity makes final judgment difficult, particularly so when we consider the peculiar relationship between Hieronymus and Antigonus Gonatas. Ancient references to Gonatas are generally favorable and they admittedly derive from Hieronymus.⁷³ But Pausanias makes the following observation: "This Hieronymus has the reputation of writing in an unfriendly manner about kings except for Antigonus, whom he favored unreasonably."⁷⁴ If we only had the lost books of Diodorus in which he deals with Antigonus Gonatas' rule! Lacking these we must proceed with the greatest caution. It has been maintained that Hieronymus was in complete sympathy with the policies of Antigonus, particularly with the abandonment of the long struggle for the rule over the "whole." The impossibility of one great empire had forced itself on the mind of Antigonus, an impossibility that runs like a dark thread through the whole of Hieronymus' history. Antigonus contented himself with the limited objective of ruling Macedonia and of holding enough power in Greece to ensure his position at home. Unlike his royal

alleged plans (Diod. XVIII. 4). Cf. U. Wilcken, "Die letzten Pläne Alexanders des Grossen," Königl. Preuss. Akad. Berlin, *Sitzungsberichte* (1937), pp. 192-207; and W. W. Tarn, "Alexander's Plans," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LIX (1939), 124-35.

⁷⁰ For an excellent general statement on the tone of his work, see Jacoby, "Hieronymos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1544. The following references to illustrate the importance attached to the fortunes of the royal house by Hieronymus are mostly taken (with an occasional correction) from Nitsche (*op. cit.*, p. 16). On Alexander: Diod. XVIII. 28.3 f.; 81.3; on Olympias: *ibid.* XVIII. 58.4; 62.2; XIX. 11.4; 7; 22.2-3; 51.4 f.; 52.4; on Alexander's sister, Cleopatra: *ibid.* XX. 37.3-6; Roos, Teubner text of Arrian, II 268, F 1.40; on the young Alexander: Diod. XVIII. 105.2; on Heracles, Alexander's supposed son: *ibid.* XX. 28.1.

⁷¹ For the reasons why Alexander ordered a restoration of the exiles, see esp. Diod. XVIII. 8.2-5. For the Athenian revolt to recover "freedom," and the ensuing Lamian war, *ibid.* XVIII. 9-18. For Polyperchon's policy of "freeing" the Greeks, *ibid.* XVIII. 55-6. For the dashing of Athenian hopes by Nicanor, acting for Cassander, *ibid.* XVIII. 64-6; 68; 74.1-4 (includes praise for Cassander's instrument, Demetrius of Phalerum). See also *ibid.* XVIII. 75.2. For Antigonus' proclamation of "freedom," *ibid.* XIX. 61.3; 66.2-5; 74.1; XX. 45-6; 111.2, and for Ptolemy's, *ibid.* XIX. 62.1; XX. 37.2. Both recognized the importance of Greek good will, *ibid.* XIX. 62.2. For Ptolemy's use of the "freedom" of the Greeks as a pretext for his war on Antigonus, see *ibid.* XX. 19.3. The effect of these passages is cumulative.

⁷² See Diod. XVIII. 44.2; Plut. *Demetr.* 28; and Nitsche's comment on them (*op. cit.*, p. 26).

⁷³ See esp. Jacoby, "Hieronymos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1546.

⁷⁴ Pausanias I. 9.8.

father he eschewed overseas adventures.⁷⁵ This would all be very reasonable and plausible were it not for the inescapable fact that it is based ultimately on the testimony of Hieronymus himself. At the time he wrote, Antigonus had a long reign ahead of him. Was it not in the king's interest to have the court historian represent that his intentions were not imperialistic? Nitsche half recognizes this. In praising Droysen's great work on the period he notes that Droysen's judgments were based on Hieronymus, "to a greater extent than he realized."⁷⁶ He must mean that Droysen's material had already been selected for him, a fact not known by most scholars when Droysen wrote.⁷⁷ Another statement of Nitsche's is even more revealing. He suggests that Antigonus Gonatas was probably the only ruler under whom Hieronymus would have been allowed to write his history!⁷⁸ The Pausanias passage cannot be argued away. We are forced to believe that Hieronymus was less critical in his portrayal of Antigonus Gonatas than where he described the deeds of other rulers.⁷⁹ This may be the result of his unqualified approval of the Macedonian ruler. But a more likely explanation suggests itself to us, as it evidently did to Pausanias' source. When Hieronymus wrote, the Diadochi were dead. *De mortuis*, etc. is rarely the guiding principle of a court historian. If Gonatas broke with the policy of his predecessors, what would be more proper than for his Greek encomiast to interpret the history of the period in a manner flattering to his royal patron? There are passages in Diodorus where Eumenes is made to express clearly the deferential attitude that became a Greek associated with Macedonians.⁸⁰ For Hieronymus that meant submission to Antigonus Gonatas. There could be no harm in allowing a mellow light to play about the expiring fortunes of Alexander's house, because Alexander's heirs were no longer competing with the heirs of Antigonus the One-Eyed. In fact, while Hieronymus leaves no doubt in our minds of his sympathy for Alexander's line and for the legitimacy of their cause, by the same token he legalizes the claims of other rulers once the older line had been eliminated. The test then becomes one of practicality, on the

⁷⁵ For a vigorous statement of this view of Antigonus' policy, see Tarn, *Antig. Gon.*, pp. 203 f.

⁷⁶ Nitsche, "König Ph. Brief an die Ath.," p. 19.

⁷⁷ E.g., Reitzenstein did not publish the text of the *Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*, which he discovered in a palimpsest in the Vatican library, until 1888. See Köhler, in *Königl. Preuss. Akad. Berlin, Sitzungsberichte* (1890), p. 557.

⁷⁸ See Nitsche, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁷⁹ Tarn does what can be done to exorcise the Pausanias passage (*Antig. Gon.*, p. 246, n. 86) by urging that Pausanias had not read Hieronymus, and that, "it is merely a case of 'they say' and of little value." Nevertheless, even though a mere report, it must have an origin. To dispose of it one needs a critical statement about Antigonus derived from Hieronymus. Without that we cannot regard our tradition as giving us an independent judgment of Antigonus Gonatas.

⁸⁰ See Diod. XVIII. 60.1; 62.7; XIX. 13.1.

basis of which he would find fault with the ambitions of the older Antigonos and Demetrius, and praise the policies of Ptolemy Soter and the later Antigonos.⁸¹ The fact that Hieronimus wrote to please Antigonos does not degrade him any more than Livy is degraded. Nevertheless Livy's relationship with Augustus is of significance for students of Roman history. In reading accounts derived from Hieronimus it should always be kept in mind that he wrote in defense of a policy formulated by a ruling king, the results of which could not yet be seen; and that he uses that policy as a standard by reference to which he approves or condemns the previous acts of the Diadochi. Perhaps in this way some of the passages in Diodorus Siculus for which a "Ptolemaic" source has been suggested,⁸² may find a simpler explanation in Hieronimus' natural sympathy with a policy that closely resembled that of his own royal patron. While it would be interesting to know more, our judgment on Hieronimus remains the same whether his interpretation was inspired by Antigonos and his advisers, or whether the wise old Cardian was a schoolmaster to his king. The essential thing is that the policy of the one and the history of the other are inextricably bound together. To suggest that both men reached the same conclusions independently while one was the retainer of the other, would be arbitrary and unconvincing.

At this point it may be well to summarize briefly the limitations that seem necessary in accepting Hieronimus' verdict on his period. While his qualifications were high and his access to documentary material enviable, he was too closely associated with monarchy all his life to acquire an adequate understanding of the needs and aspirations of the Greek city and league, much less to recognize their potential force when compared with the Macedonian monarchies. In other words we have a very able court view of history, one which undoubtedly tends to overplay the role of Macedonians in the Greco-Macedonian world.⁸³ This is not brought about by misstatement but by omission. Even Nitsche with his unbounded admiration for Hieronimus, recognized that his was an external history.⁸⁴ Another capable historian, living at the same time as Hieronimus but with a different background, might have centered his interpretation on the growth of the federal principle. But Hieronimus' account so dominated the field that even now it requires a deliberate effort of the will to appreciate that the usual grouping and selec-

⁸¹ See Jacoby, "Hieronimos," no. 10, *R.E.*, VIII, 1554 for passages derived from a "Ptolemaic" source; Nitsche *contra* "König Ph. Brief an die Ath.," pp. 17 f.

⁸² See previous note, and also Karl Julius Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* (2d ed., Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), IV, part II, 4.

⁸³ Something of the Macedonian fear of united Greek action may still be felt in Diod. XX. 106.1. Cf. Tarn, *Antig. Gon.*, p. 71.

⁸⁴ Nitsche, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

tion of events for the period following Alexander's death traces back to one man, a man who had every reason to follow an interpretation satisfactory to his patron. And it may be said in conclusion, that perhaps our best proof that Diodorus Siculus was following Hieronymus is the fact that the general tone of the account blends so well with the known later policies of Antigonus. What other Greek would have been so saddened by the failure of any one Macedonian to reunite the empire of Alexander the Great?

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Alexander von Humboldt and Simón Bolívar

J. FRED RIPPY AND E. R. BRANN*

A NUMBER of the biographers of Simón Bolívar and Alexander von Humboldt are agreed that there were relationships of some sort between the Liberator and the German scientist and that these relationships began late in 1804 or early in 1805, shortly after Humboldt returned from his five years of travel in Spain's American colonies.¹ But the writers differ with reference to the nature, frequency, and significance of the Humboldt-Bolívar association.

The most recent writers on the subject, Von Hagen and Ludwig,² apparently relying heavily upon fancy and such secondary authorities as Röhl, Belaunde, Pereyra, Larranzábal, and Mancini,³ go so far as to assert that it was Humboldt who aroused the young Bolívar to the epochal determination to change the political status of Spanish America.⁴ Röhl, Angell, Ybarra,⁵

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¹ General H. L. V. Decoudray-Holstein, *Memoirs of Simón Bolívar, President Liberator* (2 vols., London, 1830), I, 84, contends, however, that, contrary to frequent misrepresentation, Bolívar did not conceive the idea of liberating his native land during his youth.

² Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *South America Called Them* (New York, 1945); Emil Ludwig, *Bolívar* (New York, 1942).

³ Alexander von Humboldt, *Viaje a las regiones equinocciales del nuevo continente*, ed. by Eduardo Röhl (5 vols., Caracas, 1941-42) (cited hereafter as the work of Röhl); Victor Andrés Belaunde, *Bolívar and the Political Thought of the Spanish American Revolution* (Baltimore, 1938); Carlos Pereyra, *Humboldt en América* (Madrid, 1917); Felipe Larranzábal, *La Vida de Bolívar* (2 vols., New York, 1883); Jules Mancini, *Bolívar y la emancipación de las colonias españolas* (Mexico, 1923).

⁴ "He [Humboldt] met young Simón Bolívar and with him ascended Mount Vesuvius. Humboldt knew that South America was ripe for freedom. He had met, talked, and walked with most of the precursors of the revolution to be. But the people needed a leader. Humboldt doubted that a man of the needed stature could be found to undertake the herculean task. He spoke to young Bolívar of his great country, its illimitable possibilities—Humboldt the savant became Humboldt the inspirer. Bolívar vowed that he would be the man that Humboldt said was needed . . ." Von Hagen, pp. 162-63.

"When Bolívar was introduced to Humboldt . . . it transpired within the first few minutes that Humboldt had met with the most cordial reception at the home of Bolívar's relatives. . . . [Humboldt's] insight was sufficient to make him grasp, in what he saw, the decadent condition of the colonial government. A humanist of the best school, a man of the world, and, above all, a man of independent mind, he took advantage of this first opportunity to tell the young Creole the best he could find to say about his people. . . . Humboldt knew too much about the Spanish prejudices against the Creoles, and had too soon been enlightened about Bolívar's position, not to meet him, here on his own continent, with praise of the Creole men of learning, as their grateful guest, telling him how Mutis, the great explorer at Santa Fé, had helped him and Bonpland for months on end, had placed all his collections at their disposal, and had then sent with them his best pupil, the only man in America who could make and repair any instrument. Finally, it turned out that a priest who had long been their travelling companion had been Bolívar's tutor. . . . All this could not fail to rouse Bolívar from his depression, to warm a heart torn be-

Larranzábal,⁶ and Petre⁷ support the theory that it was in Paris where the Prussian scholar exerted his influence upon the Venezuelan aristocrat, while Robles and Picón-Febres⁸ indicate that the significant association of the two men took place in Italy. Although Von Hagen correctly states that they were together both in France and in Italy, this author seems to agree with Pereyra, Robles, and Picón-Febres when they suggest that it was on Mount Vesuvius that Bolívar and Humboldt decided for the independence of the New World.⁹ Robles, following Pereyra almost verbally, stresses the lasting friendship between the *Libertador* and the German friend of his youth when he writes:

tween ambition and purposelessness, here in Paris, which his friends were advising him to leave on account of his candor, and next door to Madrid from which he had been more or less expelled. For the first time in his life, Bolívar heard high praise of his homeland, and that from a scientist who had rediscovered it. The rich youth who lacked the aim in life to vie with Napoleon, the form and temperament to vie with Byron, suddenly saw all the light turned on the land of his birth. He went to see the two men [Humboldt and Bonpland] daily, either at the exhibition or at their lodging. Humboldt, with five years of hardship behind him, with the fresh color and bright eyes he preserved into old age, would sit facing the young man with the burning eyes who had dissipated his youth. When he showed him a piece of copper ore he had chipped off in an abandoned mine, told him of the rocks which he, the first man to climb Chimborazo, had found on its summit, of the sweltering heat down on the boundless llanos, of all the unused wealth on and under the earth, tangible things and human beings moved for the first time before the eyes of the aimless dreamer. . . . One day the conversation turned to the political situation in those countries, and Humboldt, whose confidence had by this time been awakened, expressed his feeling that the greatest hopes might be realized if the continent were opened up, but only if it had first been freed from the Spanish yoke. 'What a splendid enterprise! The people are ready. But where is the man strong enough to carry it through?' That day, Bolívar told much later, he left Baron von Humboldt's study 'very thoughtful.' The idle young man felt for the first time something like a purpose dawn in his harassed mind . . . he carried away with him . . . the conviction that those countries must and could be liberated." Ludwig, pp. 40-42.

⁵ Hildegard Angell, *Simón Bolívar, South American Liberator* (New York, 1930), p. 3; Thomas Ybarra, *Bolívar the Passionate Warrior* (New York, 1929), p. 20.

⁶ "A esta sazón llegó á Paris (Agosto de 1804) el célebre baron Alejandro Humboldt que regresaba de la América. . . . Bolívar estuvo á verle en su habitacion . . . frecuentada entónces por las mayores inteligencias del mundo. . . . Establecióse, desde luego, entre Bolívar y Humboldt . . . la mas franca y amistosa correspondencia. Bolívar hablaba la lengua francesa con toda perfección y soltura, y en ella encontraba los términos más propios para expresar sus ideas sobre la indignidad de la vida colonial, sobre la libertad y la grandeza de los destinos futuros de América; y el baron le respondia: En efecto, Señor, creo que su país está ya en el caso de recibir la emancipacion, pero ¿quién será el hombre que podrá acometer tan magna empresa? Teníalo delante y no lo adivinaba. Bolívar hubiera podido responderle: Ego sum qui loquor tecum —, mas él mismo tampoco lo sabia." Larranzábal, I, 13.

⁷ "His friends in Paris were many. Amongst them were Eugène de Beauharnais, Delagarde, and Oudinot; whilst of the *savants* he knew Humboldt and Bonpland. With these two he discussed the question of the possible revolt of South America, a subject on which their views differed. Humboldt, holding, as did Bonpland, that the Spanish colonies were ripe for separation, doubted if a man was to be found capable of leading the revolt. Bonpland, on the other hand, believed that with the occurrence of the revolt the necessary leader would arise." F. Loraine Petre, *Simón Bolívar El Libertador* (New York, 1910), p. 38.

⁸ Vito Alessio Robles, *Alejandro de Humboldt, su vida y su obra* (Mexico, D. F., 1940); Gonzalo Picón-Febres, *Don Simón Rodríguez, maestro del Libertador* (Caracas, 1939).

⁹ "Detrás de la cláusula de Humboldt se trasluce la persistencia de Bolívar en la idea que sin cesar lo dominaba: 'Usted y yo hicimos entonces votos (cuando subieron al Vesubio) por la independencia y libertad del Nuevo Mundo.'" *Ibid.*, p. 28.

From his humble abode in Paris, he [Humboldt] nervously followed the brilliant campaigns of Bolívar, and when he considered that Bolívar was about to effect the emancipation of the continent, he felt the impulse to consecrate all the rest of his life and all the accumulated treasures of his great wisdom to the development of the new nations.¹⁰

Röhl says that the "friendship which united Humboldt and Bolívar was cordial" and that the reasoning of the "lucid mind of Humboldt profoundly impressed the imagination of Bolívar" and caused him to begin his "crusade" for independence.¹¹ Röhl misquotes Bolívar when he attributes to him the statement that "Baron Humboldt has done more good for America than all of the Conquistadores," an error which Von Hagen repeats.¹²

Belaunde, relying upon Pereyra and Mancini, concludes that Humboldt brought to Bolívar a "feeling of admiration for the magnificent natural environment of America."¹³ "Mancini," says Belaunde,

does not hesitate to attribute to the influence of Humboldt on Bolívar the conception of the grandeur and sublimity of the nature and destiny of South America: The historian Pereyra said that "Humboldt was the chivalrous lover of America, the romantic admirer of its landscapes, the geographer and the naturalist, and the true founder of the social philosophy of the American countries."¹⁴

Pereyra, who evidently follows Mancini's narrative closely in dealing with the Bolívar-Humboldt relationship, declares that

¹⁰ "Humboldt conoció al joven Simón Bolívar en 1805 durante su viaje a Italia y juntos ascendieron al Vesubio. Era un admirador de la geste excelsa del que habría de convertirse en el hombre más grande de América. Desde su cuarto humilde de París siguió nerviosamente las brillantes campañas de Bolívar y cuando consideró que estaba a punto de lograr la emancipación de un continente, sintió el impulso de consagrar todo el resto de su vida y todos los tesoros acumulados de su gran sabiduría al desenvolvimiento de las nuevas naciones." Robles, pp. 88-89.

Humboldt's "ascensión al Vesubio, llevando por compañero a un joven americano, Simón Bolívar, . . . tuvo importancia científica muy grande, no sólo por lo que se refiere a las ideas teóricas [sic] de Humboldt, sino porque aquellos días de intimidad con el turista venezolano iban a darle con el transcurso de los años muchos temas de meditación profunda sobre las sociedades americanas." Pereyra, p. 225.

¹¹ "Fué la casa de Humboldt durante su permanencia en París, el centro de reunión de lo más selecto de los representantes de las Ciencias, de las Artes, de la Política, así como también de lo más distinguido de la sociedad. . . . Cordial fué la amistad que unió a Humboldt y Bolívar; éste era un asiduo concurrente de aquellas selectas reuniones. El caraqueño deseaba vivamente conocer la opinión de Humboldt relativa a sus titánicas ideas sobre la emancipación de las Colonias de la América española. Humboldt, con avanzadas ideas liberales, simpatizaba con la idea de dar libertad a estos países, pero el sabio viajero no consideraba a Bolívar, que para la época sólo contaba veintiún años, capaz de realizar sus ardorosos proyectos; no obstante Humboldt se expresó así: 'Creo que la fruta está ya madura, mas no veo el hombre que sea capaz de resolver tal problema.' Tan enorme le parecía tal empresa, que dudaba, dada la potencia y los medios que disponía España, que surgiera el superhombre capaz de ejecutar tan magna obra. Los raciocinios emanados del lúcido cerebro de Humboldt impresionaron profundamente la imaginación de Bolívar, y sin duda le sirvieron de estímulo para emprender la genial cruzada en pro de la independencia de la América toda." Röhl, I, xxxv.

¹² "El barón de Humboldt ha hecho más bienes á la América que todos sus Conquistadores."—Bolívar. *Ibid.*, I, xv. "Bolívar said of him: 'Baron de Humboldt did more for the Americas than all of the conquistadores.'" Von Hagen, p. 159.

¹³ Belaunde, p. 127.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Humboldt influenced Bolívar profoundly, but that Bolívar also impressed Humboldt, not only as a youth of talent, in whom he perhaps admired the sparklings of genius, but because in Bolívar Humboldt was able to see the symbol of the potentialities of the American world.¹⁵

Mancini, referring only to the *Memoirs* of O'Leary cited below and to the prologue to a collection of documents published during the life of Bolívar,¹⁶ writes that during their frequent meetings in Humboldt's studio in Paris the vegetation, the fauna, and the mineral resources of the New World, in their full variety and richness, were revealed for the first time to the enraptured young colonial;¹⁷ that Humboldt spoke of the "sentiments and aspirations" revealed to him by the "South American peoples" and of the profound emotions aroused in Venezuela by the execution of recent conspirators against the colonial government;¹⁸ that Bolívar was deeply moved by Humboldt's glowing description of the potentialities of a Spanish America freed from Peninsular shackles;¹⁹ and that Bolívar resolved from that moment to consecrate his life to the cause of liberating his native land.²⁰

¹⁵ "El historiador Mancini, que es hasta hoy una de las autoridades de mayor competencia en lo que atañe a los primeros años de la vida pública de Bolívar, se extiende con gran penetración y complacencia en el principio de las relaciones entre Humboldt y el joven americano que a la vuelta de pocos años debía ser la figura más excelsa de cuantas descollaron en los países americanos. Humboldt influyó profundamente en Bolívar; pero también Bolívar impresionó a Humboldt, no sólo como un joven de talento, en quien tal vez adivinó los centelleos del genio, sino porque en Bolívar pudo ver Humboldt el símbolo de las fuerzas potenciales del mundo americano. A medida que Humboldt avanzaba en la elaboración de sus libros sobre América, la fascinación de la figura de Bolívar se hacía más imperiosa. Para Humboldt los destinos de América están vinculados en las inspiraciones del brillante caudillo venezolano, y cuando lo ve próximo a emancipar un continente, el sabio prusiano siente el impulso de consagrar toda la pujanza de su carácter y todos los tesoros de su saber al desenvolvimiento de las nuevas naciones." Pereyra, pp. 241-42.

¹⁶ "Uno de sus encuentros en este viage fué con el barón de Humboldt, que nos había visitado pocos años antes, y preguntándole que le parecía de su proyecto, le respondió aquel sabio: 'Yo creo que su país ya está maduro; mas no veo al hombre que pueda realizarlo.' . . . Y lo tenía delante, pero él mismo no se conocía." *Collección de documentos relativos a la vida pública del Libertador de Colombia y del Perú Simón Bolívar* (Caracas, 1826-27), I, vii.

¹⁷ "Antes de la aparición de las obras de Humboldt, los habitantes del Nuevo Mundo, los Europeos, y hasta los Españoles mismos, no tenían sino una idea confusa del valor de la América del Sur y de los recursos que podía ofrecer." Mancini, p. 143, note. "De esta manera, y por primera vez, se revelaban al arrebatado espíritu de Bolívar la vegetación, la fauna, los recursos minerales del Nuevo Mundo, tan variados, tan ricos como lo es en sus aspectos la tierra inagotablemente pródiga en que se hallan." *Ibid.*, p. 143.

¹⁸ "Tampoco había omitido Humboldt el hablarle de los sentimientos y de las aspiraciones que se manifestaban en los pueblos sudamericanos. Decía haberse sentido impresionado hondamente por la emoción y la ira que, sobre todo en Venezuela, había causado la ejecución de España y de sus compañeros. Esta era la conclusión habitual de aquellas conversaciones, a las que era cada vez más asiduo Bolívar, escuchando con suma atención a su sabio interlocutor. Un día, exclamó el joven: 'Radiante destino, en verdad, el del Nuevo Mundo, si sus pueblos se vieran libres de su yugo, y qué empresa más sublime!'—'Yo creo que su país ya está maduro, contestó su interlocutor, mas no veo al hombre que pueda realizarla.'" *Ibid.*

¹⁹ "Aquel día, salió Bolívar pensativo del cuarto de trabajo de Humboldt. Un resplandor había iluminado su espíritu. Acababa de ver el objetivo hacia el cual habían de tender sus energías, la obra magna a la que, desde aquel momento, ardía en deseos de consagrarse." *Ibid.*

²⁰ "Resolvió no continuar viviendo tan inútilmente. Desde aquel momento se consagró a la libertad como se había entregado al placer: con todo el arranque de un temperamento formidable

The best evidence relating to the contacts, direct or indirect, between Bolívar and Humboldt that has been discovered by the writers of this brief article consists of eight documents, none of which is cited by any of the writers mentioned in this paper except Mancini, who refers only to the three letters by Humboldt to Bolívar. The first of the eight is the Liberator's famous letter written from Kingston, Jamaica, September 6, 1815, and entitled "Contestación de un americano meridional a un caballero de esta isla," in which Bolívar referred with deference to Humboldt's "universality of theoretical and practical knowledge."²¹ The second is a letter from Humboldt to Bolívar, dated Paris, July 29, 1822, in which the German scholar recalled their friendly relations after his return from America—"in an epoch when we made vows for the liberty and independence of the New Continent"—highly recommended J. B. Boussingault (then on his way to Colombia), and praised the liberal institutions which the Liberator had established in his "beautiful country."²² The third is a communication written by Bolívar in Lima on October 22, 1823, to Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, the contemporary dictator of Paraguay, in which the *Libertador* asserted: "From the early years of my youth I had the honor of cultivating the friendship of Mr. Bonpland and Baron de Humboldt, whose learning has done America more good than all of the conquerors."²³ (This seems to be the statement misquoted by Von Hagen and Röhl.) Fourth is a communication to Mrs. Bonpland, dated Lima, October 23, 1823, in which Bolívar referred to Humboldt as the "discoverer of the New World."²⁴ Fifth

que encontraba, por fin, el puro manatí capaz de saciar la ardiente sed que le devoraba. No por eso se mostrará a las voluptuosidades materiales, pero sus llamaradas pasajeras no se adueñarán de su espíritu. Ya conoce el camino que necesita y que quiere seguir." Ibid., pp. 143-44.

²¹ "En mi opinión es imposible responder a las preguntas con que Ud. me ha honrado. El mismo Barón de Humboldt, con su universalidad de conocimientos teóricos y prácticos, apenas lo haría con exactitud, porque aunque una parte de la estadística y revolución de América es conocida, me atrevo a asegurar que la mayor está cubierta de tinieblas. . . ." Vicente Lecuna, ed., *Cartas del Libertador* (10 vols., Caracas, 1929-30), I, 182.

²² "La amistad con la cual el General Bolívar se dignó honrarme después de mi regreso de México, en una época en que hacíamos votos por la independencia y libertad del Nuevo Continente, me hace esperar que en medio de los triunfos coronados por una gloria fundada por grandes y penosos trabajos, el Presidente de la República de Colombia recibirá todavía con interés el homenaje de mi admiración. . . . Fundador de la libertad y de la independencia de su bella patria, V. E. va á aumentar su gloria haciendo florecer las artes de la paz. Inmensos recursos van á ofrecerse por todas partes á la actividad nacional. Esta paz que V. E. y sus ejércitos han conquistado, no puede desaparecer, pues ya no hay enemigos exteriores y sí bellas instituciones sociales, y sábia legislación que preservarán la República de la mayor de las calamidades, las disensiones civiles. Reitero mis votos por la grandeza de los pueblos de la América por el afianzamiento de una sábia libertad y por la felicidad de aquel que ha mostrado noble moderación en medio del prestigio de los sucesos. . . ." Simon B. O'Leary, ed., *Memorias del General O'Leary* (32 vols., Caracas, 1879-88), XII, 234-36.

²³ "Desde los primeros años de mi juventud tuve la honra de cultivar la amistad de señor Bonpland y del Barón de Humboldt, cuyo saber ha hecho más bien a la América que todos los conquistadores." Lecuna, *Cartas del Libertador*, III, 264.

²⁴ "Si por un prodigio de la buena suerte el Sor Bompland [sic] puidere salir de los calabozos

is a letter from Vicente Rocafuerte to Humboldt, London, December 17, 1824, in which reference was made to Humboldt's benevolent friendship for Bolívar while the latter was in Paris and to the German's sagacious advice, from which it was alleged that the young Venezuelan had, to a certain extent, profited.²⁵ Sixth is a letter from Humboldt to Bolívar, Paris, November 28, 1825, in which Humboldt thanked his friend General Bolívar for his efforts to obtain the release of "poor Bonpland" from imprisonment in the "myterious empire of Dr. Francia."²⁶ Seventh, a communication from Humboldt, Paris, March 21, 1826, to Bolívar, thanking the Liberator profusely for his friendly letters (in which, apparently, Bolívar acknowledged his indebtedness to Humboldt) and expressing his desire to spend his last days in South America.²⁷ Eighth is a letter—probably the only one in print—from Bolívar to Humboldt, dated Bogotá, November 10, 1821, which refers to their association in Paris and Rome and contains a glowing tribute to the character and work of the German savant.²⁸

It is possible that Alexander von Humboldt, as well as Bolívar's teacher, Simón Rodríguez, was influential in leading the young man from Venezuela

del Paraguay, yo ofresco a Vmd. y a toda su familia un destino honoroso y útil al compañero del descubridor del Nuevo Mundo." Vicente Lecuna, *Papeles de Bolívar* (Caracas, 1917), p. 34.

²⁵ A photograph of the original, written in French, was published in 1931 by K. H. Panhorst in *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* (Berlin, [1931], Jahrgang 4, pp. 40-43. Rocafuerte wrote: "... ce même Bolívar qui s'est élevé au rang des héros, qui mérita à Paris votre bienveillante amitié, et profitta jusqu'à un certain point des conseils de votre haute sagesse et consommée prudence. . . ." A Spanish version of this letter may be found in *Educación* (Bogotá) marzo-abril, 1942, pp. 302-303.

²⁶ O'Leary, XII, 236-37.

²⁷ "En medio de las grandes y generosas acciones de V. E. que son la admiración de ambos hemisferios, su corazón ha permanecido siempre sensible á los acentos de la amistad. Las cartas de V. E. me lo han probado; las conservo como un monumento precioso de la benevolencia de V. E. para conmigo; como el más hermoso título de la gloria de una vida consagrada á defender, con armas más débiles, es cierto, los progresos de la razón y de una prudente libertad. . . . Una voz interior me dice que nos volveremos á ver en esta vida, pero en ese continente que debe su libertad, ménos todavía á la gloria de las armas de V. E., que á la noble moderación de su alma; y en donde espero terminar mis días. . . ." *Ibid.*, XII, 237.

²⁸ This letter was published in *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* (Caracas, Venezuela), XVI (abril-julio, 1933), 218-19. Among other things, Bolívar wrote: "El barón de Humboldt estará siempre con los días de la América presentes en el corazón de los justos apreciadores de un grande hombre, que con sus ojos la ha arrancado de la ignorancia y con su pluma la ha pintado tan bella como su propia naturaleza. . . . Los rasgos de su caracter moral, las eminentes cualidades de su caracter generoso tienen una especie de existencia entre nosotros; siempre los estamos mirando con encanto. Yo por lo menos al contemplar cada uno de los vestigios que recuerdan los pasos de Vd. en Colombia me siento arrebatado de las mas poderosas impresiones. Así, estimable amigo, reciba Vd. los cordiales testimonios de quien ha tenido el honor de respetar su nombre antes de conocerlo, y de amarlo cuando le vió en Paris y Roma. . . ." But Bolívar did not specifically state that Humboldt had inspired him to undertake the liberation of Spanish America. J. B. Boussingault, in T. E. Hamy, *Lettres américaines d'Alexandre Humboldt* (Paris, 1909), p. 305, says that Humboldt and Bolívar were together in Rome in 1805, that they made various excursions around Naples, and that they climbed Vesuvius together. An inventory of Bolívar's library, made shortly after his death in 1830, disclosed two of Humboldt's works: "Astronomic" and "Voyage de Humboldt." Lecuna, *Cartas*, VII, 156.

to the resolution to liberate a continent from the yoke of Spain,²⁹ but conclusive evidence is still lacking, or, at any rate, not fully cited. Additional information on the nature and influence of the relationship of the German scholar and the Spanish-American hero may yet be found in Germany, France, or South America; and its discovery would no doubt be applauded by all who are interested in the career of Bolívar and the sources of his inspiration.

²⁹ With great emotion and immense generosity, Bolívar acknowledged his indebtedness to his former tutor in a letter written to Rodríguez from Peru on January 19, 1824 (Lecuna, *Cartas*, IV, 32-34): ". . . Vd. formó mi corazón para la libertad, para la justicia, para lo grande, para lo hermoso. Yo he seguido el sendero que Vd. me señaló. Vd. fué mi piloto aunque sentado sobre una de las playas de Europa. No puede Vd. figurarse cuán hondamente se han grabado en mi corazón las lecciones que Vd. me ha dado. . . . En fin, Vd. ha visto mi conducta; Vd. ha visto mis pensamientos escritos, mi alma pintada en el papel, y Vd. no habrá dejado de decirse: todo esto es mío, yo sembré esta planta, yo la regué, yo la enderecé tierna; ahora robusta, fuerte y fructífera, he aquí sus frutos: ellos son míos, yo voy á saborearlos en el jardín que planté. . . ." In this same letter Bolívar asks Rodríguez if he remembers the oath on the Sacred Mountain: "¿Se acuerda Vd. cuando fuimos juntos al Monte Sacro en Roma a jurar sobre aquella tierra santa la libertad de la patria?" Years later, long after the death of his distinguished pupil, Rodríguez, while dictating his memoirs to Manuel Uribe Angel, who published them in Bogotá in 1883 in a work entitled *El Libro del Centenario*, recalled the words of Bolívar on that auspicious occasion. The oath, as published on page 74 of that volume, runs as follows: "Juro delante Usted; juro por los Dios de mis padres; juro por ellos, juro por mi honor, juro por la Patria, que no daré descanso a mi brazo, ni reposo a mi alma, hasta que haya roto las cadenas que nos oprimen por voluntad del poder español." Ybarra's English version (*op. cit.*, pp. 21-22), although omitting one clause, is essentially correct: "I swear before you, I swear by the God of my forefathers, I swear by my forefathers, I swear by my native country, that I shall never allow my hands to be idle nor my soul to rest until I have broken the shackles which chain us to Spain."

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

THE IDEA OF HISTORY. By *R. G. Collingwood*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. xxvi, 339. \$6.00.)

THIS volume, though based primarily on lectures written by the late Professor Collingwood in 1936, is not a systematic treatise on historiography, matured and finished off before his death in 1943. It is, rather, a collection of his papers, chosen and ordered by Professor T. M. Knox, a sympathetic but cool and discriminating editor. In its form, for which Professor Knox is partly responsible, the work consists of two general divisions. One deals essentially with the nature, subject matter, and methods of historiography, as Professor Collingwood conceived them (introduction, pp. 1-13, and part v, "Epilegomena," pp. 205-334). The second division (parts i-iv) is an outline history of the development in the working ideas of historians from ancient times to the twentieth century. Yet this division is more nominal than real, for Professor Collingwood actually sows his own ideas on the nature, subject matter, and methods of historiography throughout the pages of his book. In other words, even in his outline of the history of ideas of history, he is no mere recorder or annalist. Here also he is a thinker, a critic, a searcher for wider knowledge and deeper understanding.

For many reasons, reviewing Professor Collingwood's book in short form is a difficult, if not impossible, task. He was no "orthodox" historian or philosopher. He did enough work in history to demonstrate his capacity for critical scholarship. His main interest, however, was in philosophy of a metaphysical kind, as his election to the Waynflete professorship of metaphysical philosophy at Oxford seems to indicate. Yet he was scarcely "orthodox" in that field, for he apparently came to the conclusion, with Croce, that "philosophy as a separate discipline is liquidated by being converted into history" (p. x). On account of his double interest, in philosophy and history, the breadth of his knowledge, and the quality of his critical and searching mind, Professor Collingwood's volume is crowded with fruitful, illuminating suggestions for those historians and philosophers who have the patience and catholicity of concern necessary to discovering just what he has to say. Though the book is hard to read and grasp, the effort is rewarding—in terms of factual information, critical analysis of the principal working ideas in historiography, and constructive suggestions for a new theory of history appropriate to our own times.

Well aware that any summary of Professor Collingwood's summaries—historical and systematic—must be inadequate, if not unjust to him, I attempt to make a sketch, to the best of my ability, taking up first his history of the ideas of history.

I. Antiquity. Herodotus was indeed the Father of History. He broke away from antihistorical tendencies in Greek thought. Instead of reciting legends and telling of gods and goddesses, he inquired into the thought and actions of human beings in times past, searched for evidence, and sought to describe events as they had occurred. He asked rational questions of his sources; he was interested in human beings rather than in divinities; and he wanted to tell what human beings had done. He turned against the forlorn theory of Greek philosophy which held that only the unchanging can be known and he insisted that the transitory, the historical, can be known. Herodotus had no true successors in antiquity. Other Greek and Roman historians, though interested primarily in human beings, had antihistorical limitations: They were parochial or nationalistic in outlook and celebrated the history of chosen peoples; they had their own separate systems of chronology; and they regularly indulged in moral preachments or worse.

II. Medieval times. In contrast to Greek and Roman "patriots," with their own systems of chronology and their nationalistic histories, stood the early Christian historians, who worked under the spell of different ideas of history. They had a fixed point for measuring time, past and future; it was before and after Christ; moreover, this system for measuring time was applied to all nations, not merely one nation. They posited one God, not a myriad of troublesome gods and goddesses. They had, in addition, a theory of history that was universal in its scope, in the sense that it began with the creation of the world and Adam and Eve and took all branches of the vast human family into account. As to the nature of this universal history, the Christian historians also had a theory comprehensive in its range: All nations, all individuals played their part in a kind of divine drama or plan, to be grasped philosophically. "The great task of medieval historiography was the task of discovering and expounding this divine objective or plan" (p. 53). The drama unfolded, without regard to the pretensions of mighty rulers, powers, nations, and principalities, as if by scenes, acts, stages; the idea of periodizing history by significance or characteristics was employed in ordering the pell mell of events in time. Under the divine plan, it was thought, these events, ever unfolding, made sense or could be given sense. In short, here seems to have been the germinal idea of a philosophy of history, foreign to antiquity and non-Christian peoples.

III. Age of natural science and criticism. New currents of historical thought were set in motion with the rise of natural science and the critical management of documents. Natural science insisted on free inquiry; it had a method of its own; it traversed the astronomy, geology, geography, biology, physics, and anthropology of the early Christian historians; it introduced critical reasoning. In the humanities, critical scholars, Catholic and Protestant, began to distinguish between true and false (or forged) documents and challenged numerous assurances of the medieval historians. Humanism came back again: interest in human beings as such, with little or no regard to any divine drama or plan. New theories of knowl-

edge arose. Breaking with Descartes, but not the church, Vico declared: *verum et factum convertuntur*; the true and the created are identical; to make a thing connotes the ability to understand it; human beings make their history and hence their history is knowable to the human mind.

IV. Stage of emphasis on "scientific" history. As the empire of natural science spread in the earth, historians, assuming that the methods of natural science were applicable, sought to apply them to the "data" of history; the history of mankind is but a part of "natural" history. But secular critics, as well as theologians, objected and this idea came to an impasse. The data of history are not identical with the data of physics or even biology; the human being is not a mere victim of environment but by thinking exerts control over environment. The historian does not and cannot confront his data—events and personalities of times past—or manipulate them or test his conclusions by experiments with them. Moreover, dreadful thought, he is part or phase of history. In such a plight, he seeks to reconstruct the past in his own mind and to re-represent it in writing and speaking history.

V. The stage of positivism. Near the middle of the nineteenth century a theory of history called positivism began to flourish. In spirit it was akin to natural science. Its motto was: "Get the facts, ever more and more facts." Its promise was that in time "from the facts" the law or laws of history would emerge and become solidly established. Then human beings could know and manipulate their own history to noble ends, as if in spite of any divine plan or other plan. But this positivism, created almost in the image of natural science, is being liquidated along with "scientific" history; and in the process such historians as J. B. Bury and Arnold Toynbee are also being liquidated (pp. 147 ff.), despite their erudition. Emphasizing climate, environment, externals, and classifications, positivism fails to reckon with the inner nature, thought, and conceptions of human beings—the inner dynamic of history. It too has come to a dead end in its working methods and its thought. Croce saw it early. Professor Collingwood tolls its funeral knell.

Such in a form all too brief and of necessity inadequate is my summary of Professor Collingwood's outline history of ideas of history. Obviously, his divisions and distinctions are sharp—in my opinion too sharp; and in condensation, I have sharpened them, perhaps beyond his intentions as revealed in his pages.

Next we come to what may be called the systematic part of Professor Collingwood's work—the constructive part in which he endeavors to set forth his idea, or theory, of history that is to mark a new and promising stage in the long development of historiography. He maintains that positivism is bankrupt: it relied too heavily on the methods of natural science and, like philosophy (now liquidated in history), it worked with general abstractions and neglected the individual, the unique, the concrete—who, when, where, what—in human history as experience. The new history for our time, Professor Collingwood holds, is to be "idealistic," but not in the sense of German idealism. It is to emphasize the "in-

ternals” of history—the thought of the human makers of history. It proposes to *know history* by exploring these internals, by grasping and re-living the thought of the makers of history.

How does Professor Collingwood expound his theory of history? Not with clear-cut consistency, it seems to me, as the following statements scattered through his pages indicate: “What kinds of things does history find out? I answer: *res gestae*: actions of human beings that have been done in the past” (p. 9). “Historical knowledge is the knowledge of what mind has done in the past, and at the same time it is the redoing of this, the perpetuation of past acts in the present” (p. 218). “Historical knowledge is not perception, it is the discerning of the thought which is the inner side of the event” (p. 222). “. . . in itself history is nothing but the re-enactment of past thought in the historian’s mind” (p. 228). “. . . what must the historian do in order that he may know them [his facts]? . . . the historian must re-enact the past in his own mind” (p. 282). The historian’s thought must spring from the organic unity of his total experience, and be a function of his entire personality with its practical as well as its theoretical interests” (p. 305). “Historical knowledge . . . has for its proper object: thought: not things thought about, but the act of thinking itself” (p. 305).

Does Professor Collingwood provide historians with the formulas by which, in application, they may avoid the uncertainties of the old historiography, grasp universal history in its internal fullness, *know history*, write history as it actually had been, and furnish firm guides to practice in the making of history? I do not think that he has made this break-through into the domain of absolute knowledge. Nor does his editor, Professor Knox, think so either (p. xix).

Can this break-through be made by historians? In my opinion, it can be made only by Omniscience. Although some contemporary historians seem to write as if they had Omniscience, I suspect that they do not have it in fact, and are not likely to acquire Omniscience. The Bible tells us that man is lower than the angels and, judging by his conduct in history and at present, I am inclined to the view that he is quite a bit lower.

What upshot? The close study of recent writings on historiography, including Professor Collingwood’s volume, will help us to make more effective use of such minds as we have in discovering the nature, extent, and limits of our powers and of historical knowledge. It is not probable that anger and controversy will help us in this process. Nor is it probable that attempting to answer “all the questions” asked by troubled minds in this troubled age will improve the quality of historical research and writing. Although we cannot *know* universal history or any large part of it, we may, apparently, learn a great deal more *about* history and ourselves, by taking thought, considering the limitations on historical knowledge, and increasing the precision of our methods.

But, if we cannot discover the plan, law, philosophy, or sense of history, why go on working at history? In my opinion there are many “reasons.” I close by

offering one: Insistence on opening archives and on critical research and writing is among the firmest guarantees that the night of despotism will not close over the world. It is a primary axiom of despotism that archives shall be kept shut and that freedom of historical research shall be suppressed. This does not appear to be merely an "accident" of history but a tribute to the power of critical historiography.

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A HISTORY OF EDUCATION. By *James Mulhern*, Associate Professor of Education, University of Pennsylvania. (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1946. Pp. xii, 647. \$4.50.)

SINCE Professor Mulhern's book is "the outcome of a course in the history of education given to students at the University of Pennsylvania for the past twenty years," it deserves to be judged on two grounds: first, to what degree is it scholarly; second, to what degree is it recommendable from the point of view of the teacher?

While trying to answer the first question one must heartily welcome the author's standpoint that the history of education should be taught in combination with the history of ideas and of civilization. One must also give him credit for including the primitive and the ancient Asiatic cultures in the compass of his considerations. But, despite his wide reading and knowledge, he fails to give us that pleasant feeling of confidence which a writer should convey by virtue of his thorough acquaintance with original documents. Throughout the whole book Mr. Mulhern refers mainly to secondary sources. This often causes him to make statements which are either one-sided or false. (See, for example, the sweeping judgment on Oriental mentality and art in paragraph 2 on page 17; the analysis of Egyptian culture on pages 60 ff., which should be compared with James H. Breasted's book *The Dawn of Conscience*; the flighty characterizations of philosophical systems from Plato up to Hegel, etc.) As always when an author lives from second hand, Mulhern lacks empathy, or understanding from within; too often he stands outside, using as his only criterion of judgment a sort of "scientific" rationalism and Deweyism—which he fails to subject to critical examination. Naturally, those fine elements of culture which are not of primarily rationalist or pragmatic quality remain undetected or are misunderstood.

With respect to the second point of view, that of the teacher, Mr. Mulhern may reply that a textbook for younger students, as any history of events and ideas, is by necessity interpretative and not original. This is true; but the difference is whether the interpretation still reflects the spirit of original creation and directs the student's mind that way, or not. Just as the voice of the religious prophets can never be replaced by the stammerings of professional theologians, so also the voice of the creative teachers of mankind cannot be supplanted by the explanations of professors of education. In addition, often the primary documents are both more simple and more inspiring than the commentaries about them.

To give some concrete proof here also: Professor Mulhern writes a section entitled "Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century." In this section—which covers not even two full pages! (p. 341)—the reader is presented with more than a dozen names, all either insufficiently explained, or not at all. What more than just vague allusions will a student remember from such a treatment? In other words, Mr. Mulhern, though he expounds at some length the educational theories of Pestalozzi and Dewey, does not seem to have been deeply impressed by their desperate fight against verbalism in education.

Probably the main reason for the ambiguous impression one receives from Mr. Mulhern's book lies in the fact that he has not found the right middle way between the desire for clarity on the one hand, and the desire for completeness on the other. The desire for clarity causes him to write the whole work in sentences of such syntactical simplicity and shortness that the style loses all individuality and rhythm; he underestimates—at least I hope so—the reading capacity of our college students. The desire for completeness drives him to overcrowd the book with terms and names which either should be explained more fully or not mentioned at all. This defect is all the more deplorable as the author, in his inviting introductory chapter, "The Point of View," expounds theories about the history of education which, if they had been practiced effectively, would have provided the basis for an excellent book.

Harvard University

ROBERT ULICH

IRON OUT OF CALVARY: AN INTERPRETATIVE HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *Walter Phelps Hall*, Dodge Professor of History, Princeton University. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1946. Pp. 389. \$3.50.)

It is possible to charge Walter Hall with much the same indiscretion as his present reviewer committed by publishing a history of the first World War when the struggle was hardly over and the only available sources were current newspapers and other ephemeral and mainly propagandist material. In the light of developments and disclosures during the twenty-seven years which have since elapsed, that earlier history would now be adjudged sketchy and inaccurate in its military narrative, partial and even prejudiced in its account of diplomacy, naive in many of its generalizations and interpretations, and mistakenly optimistic in its conclusion. Yet it still has value as a contemporary record of how the war appeared to the generation which fought it and had strong convictions about it.

Professor Hall's history of the second World War is written with gusto in a style reminiscent now of Kipling and again of Carlyle. It should prove invigorating reading for college students, for whom it seems primarily intended. And it will provide them with illuminating glimpses of the course of military and naval events from Italy's attack on Ethiopia and Japan's invasion of China, through the German conquest of almost half of Europe, the siege of Britain, and the arraying of

Russia and the United States against the Axis, to the eventual overwhelming of Germany and shattering of Japan. It will likewise provide its readers with an emphatic interpretation of events.

The subtitle of the book is "an interpretative history." The interpretation is obviously influenced by a desire to present our Russian Communist ally and his policies in flattering garb, and it follows in many instances the line taken by such wartime "leftist" publicists as Louis Adamic, I. Ehrenburg, Harold Laski, Max Lerner, and especially F. L. Schuman. Thus, for instance, while British and French reluctance to go to war with Germany in 1938 is excoriated (pp. 65-69), the practical alliance of Russia with Germany from 1939 to 1941 is gently excused (pp. 75-77). Russia is further justified in putting the Baltic "pseudo-Republics" under its "protection," and it attacked Finland because "Leningrad was only twenty miles away from the Finnish frontier, too close for comfort" (p. 83). There is an apology for Russia's sharing with Germany in the partition of Poland (p. 81), and a spirited defense of the later Soviet-sponsored Polish government against the constitutional government in exile (pp. 339-40). There is a tendency to equate "Fascist" with "non-leftist," and "Partisan" with "democratic," with consequent strictures on Greek and Serb monarchists (pp. 130, 338), and on Chinese nationalists (pp. 24, 52-55), and a belittling of anti-Communist feeling throughout east-central Europe (pp. 127, 316). Pétain (blameworthy enough, no doubt) is blamed for not removing to North Africa in 1940 (p. 100) and continuing the war there (which would almost certainly have brought the Germans across Spain and enabled them to close the Mediterranean to the British and ourselves). Robert Murphy is coupled with Admiral Darlan as sinister figures; "reactionary influences" are at work in our State Department; and, astonishing to some of us, Mr. Cordell Hull himself is "deep, devious" (pp. 246-47). As for Marshal Badoglio, who placed himself at the head of the anti-Fascist revolt in Italy and arranged for Italy's surrender, he is "unscrupulous," "treacherous," "untouchable" (pp. 257-58).

Doubtless such interpretations reflect a substantial public opinion in the United States while the war was in progress. It is questionable, however, whether they will survive the changed conditions and documented studies of the post-war generation.

On two points of more special significance, the reviewer would raise questions. First, concerning the "liberal heritage." Professor Hall says (p. 30) it may be expressed by two words, "capitalism and democracy." But what about liberty itself—individual liberty and national liberty? Isn't this, rather than capitalism or even democracy, the essentially liberal heritage of our Western civilization, and the crux of the West's conflict with totalitarianism, and with totalitarianism of the Communist as well as of the Fascist variety?

Second, concerning the nature of the American debate on foreign policy between 1939 and 1941. The author indicates (p. 188) that the question then con-

fronting us was between "isolation" and a kind of messianic mission "to strike a blow against tyranny and brutality overseas" and "to build one human future based on equal justice, universal freedom, for all those who on earth do dwell." Was it actually as simple or as idealistic as that? Wasn't it then, and isn't it still, a question whether we think our national security and well-being endangered, and how much we think them endangered? Most of us didn't like Fascism from its first advent to power in 1922, but we didn't go to war with any Fascist country until nineteen years afterwards and then only when we felt ourselves directly menaced. Most of us have not liked Communism since its original seizure of Russia in 1917, but, despite plentiful evidence of its "tyranny," we have never taken arms against the U.S.S.R., and we are not likely to enter into any serious debate about taking them unless there are grounds for believing that Russia actively endangers our way of life and our freedom as a nation.

Columbia University

CARLTON J. H. HAYES

THE STRANGE ALLIANCE: THE STORY OF OUR EFFORTS AT WARTIME CO-OPERATION WITH RUSSIA. By *John R. Deane*. (New York: Viking Press. 1947. Pp. viii, 344. \$3.75.)

FRUSTRATION is the dominant note in this semiofficial account of our wartime attempts at military collaboration with Russia. The author was not inexperienced in dealing with allies. Prior to his appointment as head of the American Military Mission to the U.S.S.R., General Deane had served with distinction as the American secretary of the Anglo-American Combined Chiefs of Staff. He had the confidence of his superiors, and he was authorized to make a friendly approach through which it was hoped to establish cordial relations with the Russians, similar to those existing between the Anglo-American allies.

Unfortunately, most of the American proposals were met with a stone wall of petty bargaining, delay, inertia, indifference, suspicion, and hostility. Significantly, where a friendly approach failed, a policy of firmness sometimes succeeded. One of the difficulties was that any request concerning foreigners was passed to the top by the Russian officials. Inevitably, decisions were delayed or unavailable. In view of the situation, it is surprising how much was accomplished. Here are a few samples: co-operation between the American O.S.S. and its Russian counterpart in the field of secret intelligence was effected; the "escape" from Russia of American aviators forced to land in Siberian territory was arranged; shuttle-bombing bases on Russian soil were secured.

In the early days of the mission the lend-lease program consumed much time. Then, as the allied armies contracted the ring around Germany, some co-ordination of the land and air war was necessary, if only to prevent accidental collisions of the allied forces. The surrender of Germany and the repatriation of liberated prisoners of war brought an end to collaboration in Europe, but there was still the war in the Pacific.

As early as the Teheran conference, Stalin promised the eventual entry of Russia into the war with Japan. This promise was repeated at succeeding conferences, but efforts to arrange for joint planning were of no avail. For the historian, one of the merits of General Deane's book is the information which he provides about the full-dress meetings at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. The author took part in the conferences, but he has not depended upon memory alone. It would appear that he has had access to the official records.

Although he lived among the Russians for two years and was in constant consultation with their high officials, General Deane disclaims expert knowledge. Nevertheless, his views are certainly of some importance. The average Russian was a "good-natured giant," in whose reactions the author places considerable hope for the future peace of the world. The Soviet leaders, he believes, consider war inevitable between communism and capitalism, and in consequence they have adopted a program designed to ensure the victory of communism. The book ends with a sober warning. Peace is possible, the author says, provided the Russian leaders can be induced to modify their program. American power, he thinks, is sufficient to bring the necessary modification, if applied in time.

University of Minnesota

RODNEY C. LOEHR

FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONAL POWER: READINGS ON WORLD POLITICS AND AMERICAN SECURITY. Edited with Introductions and other original text by *Harold and Margaret Sprout*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. x, 774. \$4.25.)

An outgrowth of the Navy's V-12 program during the war, this book supplies some of the blueprints for the peace. It is a volume of significant readings on world politics—readings which touch on nearly every aspect of international affairs with particular stress on geopolitics, readings selected from the works of nearly a hundred more or less distinguished writers and brought into a consistent whole by editorial comments and essays.

The central theme is best described by an excerpt (p. 4) from the editors' introduction: "In the absence of a super-national world government to serve as the arbiter of human relations which reach beyond the confines of one community, the aims and policies of the various members of the society of nations, backed up by their own force and persuasion, set the pattern of international politics. This has been so for several centuries. It is so today; and there is little evidence that it will not continue to be so for a considerable time to come. For this reason, the role of national power is basic to any discussion of international politics." As one progresses through the many pages of fine print of this compilation he realizes at least this truth which is implicit in so many of the selections given: that until very lately in human history the imagination, always free to roam at will, reached far beyond the constricted sphere of human action and

accomplishment. Any terrors of the unknown thus conjured up usually did not exist in fact, as every sane person realized with relief upon returning from such excursions into the void. In our own day factual knowledge and actual human experience have penetrated so far and so fast into the infinite that the imagination is far outranged. No one now can define adequately the bases of national security nor find refuge from the terrifying realities of technology.

This is illustrated in a very small way by the extent to which the basic concepts and even the most advanced views represented in this book—a product, mostly, of 1944-45—are now dated. Fundamentals of national strategy applicable to the end of the late war already have been altered by scientific advancement and most extensively by the unimaginable yet certain potentialities of atomic forces. Such changes impose on those who would deal with strategy the onerous task of reconsidering every accepted premise. There are no longer, in fact, any physical ways of achieving national security. The first and the last line of defense must be sought in diplomacy, in the uncertain and always hazardous meeting of minds previously conditioned by widely varied physical and cultural environments. The day of geopolitics has passed.

This is not to say that *Foundations of National Power* no longer has practical value. On the contrary, there is a great deal of virtue in the accumulated wisdom here set forth. Those of our statesmen who now are having to reconsider and reshape United States foreign policy in a world that has only two really great powers, both with unmeasured potentials, would do well to review this volume by way of background study. In order properly to perform their appointed tasks, though, they will have to carry the lessons here learned forward into realms of study for which no textbooks yet have been written.

School of Advanced International Studies

HALFORD L. HOSKINS

Ancient and Medieval History

POTTER AND PAINTER IN ANCIENT ATHENS. By *J. D. Beazley*, Fellow of the Academy. [From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume XXX.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. 43, plates. \$2.75.)

Mr. Beazley, whose epoch-making contributions to the stylistic study of Athenian vase painting have put every student of this subject in his debt, has in this booklet treated another important aspect of Greek pottery—the actual making and production of it. Our information in this field comes from various sources: the representations on ancient vases and plaques of potters and vase painters at work; inscriptions; the vases themselves; and the craft as it is practiced today, for clay has not changed its nature from ancient to modern times.

Mr. Beazley first discusses the representations, analyzes them afresh in his usual penetrating manner, and adds several new ones to our comparatively meager

store—notably a calyx-krater found not long ago near Caltagirone in Sicily. His discussion of the inscriptions is particularly valuable. Those by potter dedicants on marble pedestals—from which we learn that in the late archaic period celebrated sculptors like Endoios and Antenor received commissions from prosperous potters—is the most comprehensive account we have had so far. The “multifarious evidence” furnished by the signatures on vases is subjected to fresh examination and new light is thrown on several moot points. The two forms “so and so *epoiesen*” (made it) and “so and so *egrapsen*” (decorated it) are interpreted to refer to the maker and the decorator respectively, with the proviso that *epoiesen* may include both potter and painter. This theory is now widely held and seems indeed sound; for to assume, as used to be done in the last generation, that the man who signed with *epoiesen* was the owner of the establishment seems arbitrary when we recognize the skilled craftsmanship needed to produce the Greek shapes. The occasional occurrence of the same name with *egrapsen* on vases of different styles seems best explained, in the reviewer’s opinion, by supposing that there were two artists of that name. Though Mr. Beazley accepts this explanation in some instances, he hesitates in others.

The book is not only full of meticulously accurate statements but contains suggestions and stimulating question marks. What about the potter who is represented on a cup by the Euergides Painter as making a kylix of the little-master type at a time (about 510-500 B.C.) when this form of cup, according to our present knowledge, was “almost obsolete”? Proof positive, it would seem to the reviewer, that the shape was still produced at that time even if its popularity had waned. What about the double signatures with *epoiesen* on the two band cups in Munich and Berlin? The possibility that one of the makers was the boy who spun the wheel is rightly rejected; also—perhaps rightly—that one “threw” or fashioned the vase on the wheel, the other “turned” or refined it (though that seems at least possible). Mr. Beazley thinks that a more natural division might have been the fashioning and turning on the one hand, and the firing on the other. To the reviewer this seems unlikely, for the firing would, of course, apply to a whole kiln full of vases, and is definitely not individual work to be recorded in a signature. On the other hand, the many processes of producing the vase—including alterations to the shape perhaps—might be attended to by two different potters. What was the nature of the preparatory sketches or studies which the artist must have made before executing the complex decoration of a great vase? Parchment and papyrus were too expensive, wooden boards and tablets, marble slabs, a whitewashed wall are possible. But Mr. Beazley rightly thinks that the best material for preparatory sketches would have been pots or plaques in leather hard clay where the process of drawing would have been the same as on the finished products.

In conclusion the author suggests that the time is now ripe for an intensive study of Athenian vases from the viewpoint of the potters as against that of the

painters. As he says, pioneer work in that field has been done by Messrs. Hambridge, Caskey, and Bloesch. But much work remains. "It will not be enough to note the general proportions, and the features of the shape: the eye must become accustomed to perceive refinements of curve and line." It will be a difficult but rewarding task.

Metropolitan Museum of Art

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

ANGLO-SAXON SAINTS AND SCHOLARS. By *Eleanor Shipley Duckett*, John M. Greene Professor of Classical Languages and Literatures, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. x, 488. \$5.00.)

THE author of *The Gateway to the Middle Ages* has now passed through and will, we may hope, lead many readers with her. She establishes a Procrustean standard for herself by stating her aim in words of Acca to Bede: "Now truly Ambrose was so scholarly and so deep in his exposition of Saint Luke that only professors could hope to understand him. . . . Get busily to work, then, dear brother, and write your pages very simply, that humbler students may also know of these truths." For good or ill, her book lacks Bede's *doctrina*, his habit of decisive choice of "truths." Both authors combine information and imagination, but Bede's purposes in shifting from one to the other can more often be comprehended. Nevertheless, Professor Duckett quite meets the standard in clarity, piety, and erudition.

The saints and scholars, each treated in a separate biographical chapter, are four: Aldhelm, Wilfrid, Bede, and Boniface. Each is so depicted in his environment that the complete book forms a coherent story of the important century, A.D. 650-750, when the Teutons were establishing the ecclesiastical-monastic pattern for the western culture of the next five centuries. Though historical surveys of the period are numerous, none so emphasizes how this culture resulted from the energetic activity of a small group of men. That the group numbered many times four the author has sufficiently taken into account by occasionally side-tracking to describe the concurrent activity of others. As a result, the book will make excellent reading for undergraduate students of history and literature.

Differences of opinion about proportion and emphasis are inevitable. I think that Theodore should have been a fifth subject, or even have supplanted Wilfrid. The involved introduction to the vision of the Monk of Wenlock, detailing largely legendary stories of Eadburg's abbey, takes space better used for the neglected work of Cuthbert of Canterbury, just as the Wenlock vision itself pre-empts space needed for the more important vision of Fursey or, indeed, of Drythelm, who is not mentioned. Recently Bede's minor works have been receiving attention, but should we overdo it? There is no justice in giving less space to a direct description of the *History* than to commentaries on Luke and the Catholic Epistles,

especially since, for instance, Caedmon is never mentioned. The emphasis on Bede's letter to Egbert at the expense of the *History* changes Bede from optimist to pessimist. We should never be led to forget the paean of joy with which he concludes his greatest work.

Professor Duckett's quite legitimate method of filling in between informational lines with imaginative pigmentation is sometimes employed for questionable ends. Though Aldhelm's story must be pieced out by surmise, are William of Malmesbury's surmises so much better than ours that he should be cited as primary authority, *e.g.*, p. 42? So, for instance, in telling the hagiographical yarn of the marble altar stone (p. 72), taken from William, the author would have us accept as fact the stated dimensions, but reserve judgment about the power of prayer ("so the story goes"). The tendency to accept whatever is recorded in Roman numerals while questioning spiritual testimony is seen particularly in the treatment of Wilfrid. We can appreciate how fascinating is the challenge to write a biography of Wilfrid, but the fact remains that our knowledge of him comes from two sources, Eddius and Bede, both of whose works must be employed with greatest caution—Eddius because he wrote in the hagiographical form which required manipulation of information to an artistic purpose, and Bede because his remarks about Wilfrid clearly do not fit into the basic pattern of the *History* and must therefore be examined as a special case. We do not know what relation Professor Duckett's picture bears to actuality. With Aldhelm, Bede, and Boniface the reader has some control over imaginative flights, for their compositions serve as self-portraits; but of works attributed to Wilfrid two crypts (from his period at least) and some alleged signatures alone survive.

The short (four-page) epilogue is a blot on an otherwise strong book. Here the rein so tightly held on the unruly member is slackened. Not only are the generalizations about Old English character too sweeping to be even suggestive, but the attempt to link the Latin works with the untreated vernacular poetry suggests superficiality. What can be said for comparing the Seafarer's fear of the sea with Bede's "relentlessly writing for the light of ignorant folk" or Aldhelm's "pall of words and their rhythms over the mysteries of heaven and earth"? The unbridled rhetoric runs away with fact. For instance: "As the spring came flowing back in Old English poetry to drown the sorrow of winter, so it was for Bede, who knew that God created the earth in the days of an English April" (p. 458; *cf.* p. 308). I do not believe that those who experience Jarrow Aprils think of Browning. But more to the point are Bede's definite statement that Creation occurred March 18 and his extensive tract (*De Temporum Ratione*, VI) giving his reasons, which are astronomical, historical, theological, allegorical—all bookish and all derived from the Mediterranean, not from England. I hope that in the next printing these four pages may be deleted.

Cornell University

CHARLES W. JONES

L'ORDRE CISTERCIEN ET SON GOUVERNEMENT DES ORIGINES AU MILIEU DU XIII^e SIECLE (1098-1265). By *Jean Berthold Mahn*. [Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fascicule 161.] (Paris: E. de Boccard. 1945. Pp. vii, 320.)

WE have here an austere monograph on the constitutional history of a monastic order. This is a subject unfamiliar to English readers, which has been largely overlooked in English history. However a goodly amount of solid work along these lines has been produced in France and Germany, and Mahn now does for the early Cistercians what has already been done for Cluny, for the abbeys of Normandy, and for others.

The book falls into three distinct divisions. While the first is only introductory, most readers will find it the most enlightening. It places the foundations of Cîteaux in its background of the monastic currents of the tenth and eleventh centuries as a means of understanding its ideal and purpose. This ideal is sometimes misrepresented, even by Cistercians themselves, as a reform of a decadent Cluny to the original austerity of St. Benedict's Rule. But this is not fair to either the black or the white monks. It is true that Cluny had made some changes in the Rule, but the Rule itself allowed for this, and when Cîteaux was founded (1098) Cluny was still in a flourishing state. The fact rather is that Cîteaux has a mixed ancestry, and though using the Benedictine Rule and form of life, its spirit was blended with these new currents of thought which by-passed St. Benedict and looked back to the ancient "fathers of the desert." Mahn gives an interesting account of various shadowy figures of hermits and monks of the age who before St. Robert experimented with living according to these new ideals. He is able to describe their extreme asceticism and their preference for an eremitical life, but they left less material to explain their motivation. However, it seems pretty clear that it was the result of a strong wave of mysticism, different from that traditional in Western monasticism; and one wishes that it had been the author's purpose to investigate this mystical spirit more fully, for it is perhaps the chief element that differentiates the earlier Cistercians from their contemporary Benedictines.

It is in the second and third parts, dealing respectively with exemption and the government of the order, that we have the author's original work, based closely on the documentary sources. The word "exemption" came into use in the late twelfth century, and was applied to a well-developed complex of legal and financial privileges, the key of which was freedom from the bishop's power of excommunication, for that had often been used as a means to impose his jurisdiction in other forms. But the various privileges had originated separately, and they were by no means uniform for those abbeys and orders that came to possess them. Some, such as the free election of abbots, Cîteaux had had from the beginning; others, such as exemption from episcopal supervision, the first Cistercians not only did not have, but objected to on principle. However, they were obtained

piecemeal, and by the end of the twelfth century the order was exempt, though even then the privileges continued to be amplified in details. It had been the policy of the papacy to free Cîteaux from all subjection to bishops, partly because in its efforts for church reform and freedom from lay control it found the white monks a more loyal support than many of the feudalized episcopate. In connection with what is said on page 141 an English reader would have been interested to learn that St. Aelred of Rievaulx inserted in one of his "sermons" on Isaias, written for Gilbert Foliot, a long condemnation of Barbarossa's antipopes. This part of the study has been founded on papal documents surviving from French monasteries; in fact, the whole book deals mostly with that country.

In contrast with Cluny, Cîteaux developed a method of strong government that was relatively decentralized. Each abbey was autonomous in accordance with St. Benedict's Rule; the only interference from outside was to make sure that every house preserved in full the customs and spirit of the order. The relationship of filiation among the abbeys was used as the framework of ordinary supervision and reform. Only appeals, exceptional cases, and general problems were taken to the yearly meeting of all the abbots at Cîteaux. Mahn is able to study the changing organization and activities of these general chapters quite fully due to Canivez' new edition of their statutes. We are given a description not only of the methods of the chapters but of some of the conditions of the order as seen through the chapters' disciplinary measures.

A few minor faults may be noticed. Knowles' articles, "The Growth of Exemption" in the *Downside Review*, 1932, would have added to his knowledge of the English background. There is a sprinkling of misprints, and he falls a few times into the French carelessness with foreign names: thus the old "Scardeborough" for Scarborough, and "MacLaughlin" consistently for McLaughlin. There are a few slips in translating Latin, and an occasional reference is not sufficiently clear. But on the whole it is a worthy monument to a young historian who lost his life in the war. He was the son-in-law of Ferdinand Lot, and another scholar, Louis Halphen, now presents the book to the public. The study began in 1935 as a thesis at the Ecole des Chartes, and the author had this enlarged version ready to be presented for the doctorat ès lettres when his second and final service in the army intervened.

Catholic University of America

CARLETON M. SAGE

STUDIER VEDRØRENDE KARDINAL NICOLAUS BREKESPEARS, LEGASJON TIL NORDEN. By *Arne Odd Johnsen*. (Oslo: Fabritius & Sønners Forlag. 1945. Pp. xiii, 438.)

IN 1925, Edith M. Almedingen's *The English Pope (Adrian IV)*, made its appearance. Strictly speaking, it was not a biography of Nicholas Breakspeare but dealt primarily with his mission to the Scandinavian North. It is the only major

account in English dealing with this important mission. Yet it is not a thorough-going study and gives hardly any more information than can be gleaned from accounts in German and Scandinavian languages. Because Nicholas Breakspeare's mission to the Scandinavian countries has been dealt with so parsimoniously by historians, the appearance of this study by Arne Odd Johnsen constitutes an exceptional contribution to medieval history.

The author's contention, that Breakspeare's mission to the North, which began in 1152 and ended in 1154, is much more important than scholars hitherto have recognized, rests upon a sound analysis of existing sources. The reader is impressed by the author's historical craftsmanship. Though the title implies that the book is a study of the mission as a whole, the table of contents immediately reveals that the major part of the work is devoted to Breakspeare's eight months' stay in Norway, while only two short chapters treat the Danish and Swedish parts of the mission. The author, recognizing this shortcoming, entertains the hope that his work may inspire Swedish and Danish historians to do justice to the parts omitted. The reviewer joins the author in this pious wish.

The book begins with an account of the conditions in the North in the twelfth century, the story of the legate and his appointment, and an attempt to fix the exact date of the journey and the length of Breakspeare's stay in Norway. Chapter six contains a most interesting account of the great meeting in Nidaros in 1153. The author claims, and proves satisfactorily, that this was the first meeting of its kind in Norway. The personnel of the meeting was composed of the legate and his staff, the three brother-kings, the four Norwegian bishops, twelve leading (or wise) men from each bishopric, and a large company of men representing both the church (secular and regular) and the provinces in Norway. The author contends (p. 187) that this meeting marks an important change from former provincial and democratic gatherings which made important decisions in state matters to a bureaucratic and aristocratic type from now on acting for the whole kingdom. This meeting selected Nidaros as the seat of the new archbishop, thereby indirectly recognizing St. Olaf as the patron saint of Norway; and it set up an independent Norwegian church province, thereby bringing the church and the royal power into beneficial co-operation in a new united Norway.

Chapter seven, more than one third of the book, sets forth the importance of Breakspeare's work in Norway. It is a detailed account of the reforms introduced by the legate which brought Norway in line with the universal church, thereby strengthening the Papal Curia in its over-all European plan (*universalkirkelige politik*). Its five parts deal with the reforms in the canonical elections, the economic and social liberation of the church and the clergy, social reforms and cultural contributions, the importance of the erection of the Norwegian archbishopric, and the relations between the legate and the people.

It is gratifying to note that a work of such magnitude could be turned out during the dark occupation years. Much of the research, and the final composition

were no doubt carried on under very trying conditions. It is a pity that this important contribution, with its careful analysis of the mission, its clear organization, and its engaging style, is available only to those who read Norwegian.

University of California at Los Angeles

DAVID K. BJORK

Modern European History

DEMOCRATIE ET CAPITALISME (1848-1860). Par *Charles H. Pouthas*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Louis Halphen et Philippé Sagnac, XVI.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1941. Pp. 639. 80 fr.)

To understand the great events since 1914 no period in history is more worthy of study than that of 1848-1860. This short span of years witnessed the appearance of nationalism divorced from democracy in Germany; of the new class conflict, that between bourgeois and proletariat in France; of the economic internationalism of free-trade England; of the final destruction of feudalism in central Europe; and of the spread of Russian influence in western Europe.

No better man could have been selected by the editors of "Peuples et civilisations" to write the history of the period than Professor Pouthas, the author of the standard volumes on the life and times of Guizot. Professor Pouthas has the scholarship, the style, and the provocativeness that is so characteristic of the best French historians. His volume covers the history of the world, though fully eighty-five per cent of the space is devoted to Europe. Almost every important aspect is presented by the author, who exhibits an easy mastery in selecting and combining political, social, economic, and cultural facts, and in presenting them lucidly and interestingly.

Three Europes, according to the author, emerged during the period, 1848-1860. These were western Europe, liberal in politics and capitalistic in economics; central Europe, predominantly agricultural but with the beginnings of capitalism, and politically uneasy under restored autocratic rule; and Russia, economically and politically backward. On the fate of central Europe, then as now, hung the destiny of the entire Continent.

The prolegomena to the period, treated in the book, was the Revolution of 1848. Though largely abortive it nevertheless became the political seedbed of nearly all the revolutionary movements since then. Especially was this true in France where the constitution of the Second Republic, *très largement libérale, démocratique, humanitaire*, proclaimed the ideal of social democracy so clearly evident in the constitution of the Fourth Republic. The struggle to maintain in France the gains of '48 resulted in the proclamation of the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, later taken up by the syndicalists, and now the central doctrine of the communists.

In central Europe the Revolution of 1848 took a distinctively middle-class direction. The political gains were negligible but the economic results were highly important. Feudalism was definitely destroyed and the ground was cleared for the establishment of a new social order dominated by capitalism. In the case of Russia the chief outcome of '48 was a new diplomatic alignment. As the autocratic rulers depended on the tsar to protect them against the revolutionary onslaught Russia assumed a leading position in European affairs. Professor Pouthas devotes several striking pages to describing the new international situation that arose after 1848. Fear of Russian domination caused England and France, long enemies, to bury their differences and to combine in order to restore the hegemony of western Europe. The outcome was the Crimean War. The defeat of Russia had two important results: the recession of Russian influence from the rest of Europe; and the clearing of the ground for the advent of capitalism in Russia through the emancipation of the serfs.

The author's treatment of political events follows a well-trodden path. He adds little to the oft-told tale of the unification movements in Germany and Italy. What he does do is to emphasize the liberal aspect of the Risorgimento and the greatness of Cavour. Professor Pouthas gives a fine, full-length, analytical portrait of *cet empiriste de génie*, whom he greatly admires and whose long ministry he characterizes as the *dictature de l'intelligence*. There is a fairly good appraisal of middle-class England, but with too much emphasis on the religious squabbles that arose from the Oxford movement.

Rather puzzling and disturbing is the treatment of the second French empire. The author reveals great admiration for Louis Napoleon, who, he writes, established a regime that "was democratic without being republican, representative without being parliamentary, authoritarian and popular, conservative and progressive." France, under Napoleon III, enjoyed great prosperity because it was governed *dans l'esprit le plus compréhensif, et le plus libéral*. This prosperity was not shared by the workers, who, as the author himself admits, suffered greatly owing to the fall of real wages. Yet he declares that the "system of social and economic democracy, dissociated from political democracy" seems valid today. Does it? If so, to whom? This nostalgia for Louis Napoleon has affected other historians. In his recent volume *Napoleon III* Albert Guérard asserted that the emperor was a better democrat than Gambetta and a better socialist than Marx. Is there a Napoleonic "legend" developing about Napoléon le petit!

The author is at his very best in describing the advance of the Industrial Revolution and the social consequences that followed. In his view the real upswing of the Industrial Revolution on the Continent took place during 1848-1865. And its causes can be traced chiefly to the revolution in the means of transport, land and sea, and to the organization of great credit institutions that encouraged the concentration of industry. With consummate skill has Professor Pouthas gathered the essential facts concerning the advance of capitalism. And with luminous simplicity

does he describe the new industrial and financial organizations that appeared during the period. One of the social consequences of the economic changes that he stresses was the new emigration that set in from Europe. The emigrants came from town and country: industrial laborers thrown out of work by depressions; and *paysans déracinés*, uprooted by the ruin of rural industries. Many emigrated to North America; many others crossed Europe's frontiers in search of work. Europe became *un énorme foyer d'émigration*, chiefly from Britain and Germany. The great economic advance led to another phenomenon, the export of surplus capital to backward lands. India, China, and Japan were opened up to capital investment. The new emigration and the export of capital from Europe marks, in the view of the author, the true beginning of the Europeanization of the world.

Professor Pouthas has written an excellent book. It makes a valuable contribution to the study of the nineteenth century by bringing out the importance of social and economic factors in a period in which these factors have so often been overshadowed by highly dramatic political events.

The City College, New York

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

THE TURK IN FRENCH HISTORY, THOUGHT, AND LITERATURE (1520-1660). By *Clarence Dana Rouillard*. [Etudes de littérature étrangère et comparée, no. 13.] (Paris: Boivin & Cie. 1940. Pp. 700. 400 fr.)

At a time when historical theory and political events both direct our attention to the importance of studying the relations between Europe and the non-European world, Professor Rouillard has given us a detailed survey of the impact of Turkish civilization on France in the century and a half from 1520 to 1660. Actually printed more than seven years ago, this book was just off the presses in Paris when the German occupation began, and it has therefore had to await the end of the war to be generally circulated and properly noticed.

Of all non-Christian civilizations that of the Ottoman Turks has been most closely involved with the states of Latin Christendom from the end of the Middle Ages to the last stages of the "sick man of Europe." Geographical proximity made possible not only the exercise of a decisive influence by the Turks on such great movements in European history as the Protestant Reformation but also the early growth of a body of knowledge and legend about the Turks, unparalleled for other countries until a later period.

This vast literature on the geography, people, religion, and civil and military institutions of the Ottoman empire has a significance which transcends the immediate question of European-Turkish relations. Its sources were very varied; missionary and merchant, soldier and traveler, ambassador and scholar all contributed to it. Of a great number of observers it must be said that they brought away from their experience only what they had previously sought to find. Finally the principal

effect of their accounts at home was twofold. On the one hand, a stereotype "Turk" emerged, amorous and cruel, destined to become a familiar figure of literature. On the other hand, among a small number of intellectual people and over a long period of time there developed attitudes which were to lead to relativism, toleration, the comparative study of law, religion, and custom, and, in the end, to the free criticism of the institutions of European society. In all of these ways the literature on the Ottoman empire may be regarded as a case history; it prefigures in its nature, its sources, and its results the ways in which the European mind assimilated non-European cultures.

Mr. Rouillard examines carefully and comprehensively this process of assimilation so far as it applies to France in the period from the accession of Suleiman the Magnificent to the time when Louis XIV announced that he would be his own first minister. These dates are admittedly somewhat arbitrary; the latter of the two, however, need not be regarded as the term of this study since the author announces his intention of devoting a subsequent volume to Franco-Turkish relations in the age of Louis XIV and the eighteenth century.

In a study of intellectual history such as Mr. Rouillard has undertaken there are three stages of inquiry which may be represented by three questions: What *were* the Turks? What were French ideas *about* the Turks? What was the *effect* of these ideas on the intellectual and literary life of France? This division is to some extent reflected in the inclusion of the words *history*, *thought* and *literature* in the title and in the actual organization of the book. Of these three subjects, the first, covered in the introductory historical sketch and the chapters on the historical background and relations between France and the Ottoman empire, is less directly relevant to the author's main purpose than the other two; it is accordingly given a more summary treatment and it is somewhat mechanically organized. The remaining sections are very complete indeed, but it might perhaps be suggested that the basic concepts in terms of which the material is analyzed have not received an amount of attention proportionate to the effort spent on research. There is a careful definition of "orientalism," but it does not appear until a footnote on page 170 and the meaning of "exoticism" or "genuine exoticism" might surely be more explicitly discussed, since it is a word used with the greatest frequency throughout the discussion and assigned an important place in the conclusion.

Many people will consider that this volume is encumbered with an excessive amount of detail. There are indeed repetitions, some due to the recurrence of the same historical incident or theme in varying literary forms and others made inevitable by the general pattern of the book. It must also be stated, however, that an immense body of literature, much of it little known and hard to come by, is summarized in these pages. There are a great number of fascinating and carefully chosen quotations and the twenty-five plates of title pages, illustrations, and drawings are of great interest. Altogether anyone, whether historian or student of literature, who is interested in intellectual history in the broadest sense, and especially

in the relationship of one civilization to another, will have cause to be grateful to Mr. Rouillard for this impressive volume.

Harvard University

MYRON P. GILMORE

LA LUTTE DE CLASSES SOUS LA PREMIERE REPUBLIQUE: BOURGEOIS ET "BRAS NUS" (1793-1797). By *Daniel Guérin*. Two volumes. [La suite des temps, 16.] (Paris: Gallimard. 1946. Pp. 511, 472. 850 fr.)

As its title suggests, M. Guérin's book is a Marxist interpretation of the French Revolution, with special attention to events between the fall of the Girondists and the execution of Babeuf. No attempt is made to write a comprehensive history of those years, since it is the author's purpose to examine that "embryo of schism between bourgeois and *bras nus*" (II, 393) which, he feels, has been neglected by previous historians. M. Guérin observes that Mathiez corrected Aulard and that Lefebvre, while improving on the work of Mathiez, is still "not entirely free from the cocoon of bourgeois democracy" (II, 379). His avowedly partisan approach will, he hopes, serve in some measure "to detach the modern proletariat from the orbit of the bourgeoisie" (II, 375).

This confident Marxism is somewhat offset by occasional qualifying statements. Not himself a professional historian, the author readily pays his respects to the immense labors of his predecessors, recognizes varieties of middle- and working-class people, and is quick to admit that socialist tactics and ideas should not be discovered in places where they did not and could not exist. Despite his qualifications, however, M. Guérin's volumes carry a great weight of interpretation drawn from a comparative study of revolutions widely scattered from the English Levellers to the Bolsheviks of 1917. His footnotes, which testify to long hours with primary sources, are also studded with the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky, and leave no doubt concerning the wellsprings of his inspiration.

The resulting interpretation is too complicated to be described briefly, but its general outline may be suggested by the author's rejection of 9 Thermidor as the turning point of the Revolution. For him the about-face came "at the end of November, 1793, when Robespierre, reconciled with Danton, moved with him toward 'indulgence' to counter-revolutionaries and, in declaring war on the de-Christianizers, moved toward severity to ultra-revolutionaries" (I, 370). M. Guérin believes that the Revolution turned leftward when the foreign war, begun as a piece of bourgeois expansionism, went badly and became a struggle in defense of the Revolution itself. This struggle made necessary the granting of concessions to the *bras nus*, a policy undertaken with some reluctance by the Mountain. The Girondists, too fearful of such concessions, had to be liquidated. The *enragés* such as Roux, Leclerc, and Varlet were "authentic interpreters of the movement of the masses" (I, 77) who were not afraid to criticize the bourgeois Mountain but whom the confused conditions of the time prevented from seeing a fundamental socialist

remedy. Their thunder was stolen and they were eliminated. The Hébertists were patriotic politicians who were close enough to the people to speak their language and manipulate them but who, unlike the *enragés*, had a personal interest in revolutionary careers. Robespierre and the Mountain used them until the greatest dangers to the Revolution had passed and it was time to begin withdrawing concessions from the *bras nus*. Thus in striking down the Hébertists in the spring of 1794, the revolutionary bourgeoisie prepared the way for the retreat toward *laissez faire* which, with Robespierre's approval, began before Thermidor. Robespierre and Danton agreed on the need for peace and order; it was their difference over methods and timing that proved disastrous to Danton. Robespierre's own downfall came when he disagreed with the "great specialists" like Carnot over the proper means for achieving stability. By Thermidor Robespierre no longer desired or was able to find support in the *bras nus*. The latter could not triumph in the French Revolution because "objective conditions" were not ripe, but they were yet to find, in Babeuf and his colleagues, true spokesmen who "went beyond bourgeois democracy" toward "direct democracy of the communal or soviet type" (II, 348).

From the above inadequately summarized illustrations, which can do justice neither to the complexity of the author's interpretations nor to the care with which he has assembled his evidence, it should be apparent that M. Guérin's *Lutte de classes* is, so to speak, still going on. If the reader has retained any doubts concerning this point, the author removes them near the end of his book with the statement that while no historian can be impartial, "proletarian" historians enjoy the twin advantages of (a) having nothing to hide because their interests are the interests of humanity, and (b) their materialist method, which by virtue of its correctness and quasi-rigidity enables them to achieve a measure of objectivity. This statement is a drastic simplification of what in M. Guérin's book is an honest and fairly lengthy account of his philosophy of history. It may serve, however, to emphasize the point that the author's actual writing of history is of interest quite apart from the elaborate schema which accompanies it. We may grant that the Marxist concern with the relations of social classes has in this study led to some significant reinterpretations. To go farther and accept M. Guérin's entire philosophy would be, in this reviewer's opinion, to overestimate the present state of our social knowledge.

Swarthmore College

PAUL H. BEIK

SHAKESPEARE'S "HISTORIES": MIRRORS OF ELIZABETHAN POLICY.

By Lily B. Campbell. (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1947. Pp. xi, 346. \$6.75.)

Dr. Campbell has been planning to publish a book on Shakespeare's history plays for at least a decade. She was temporarily diverted from this purpose by the increasing conviction that she could not get far with the "Histories" without a

preliminary study of *The Mirror for Magistrates*. Scholars cannot regret that she turned aside to produce her admirable edition of the *Mirror* (1938), which she later augmented by the edition of *Parts Added to the Mirror for Magistrates* (1946). Actually her preface to the book before us is dated June, 1945, though, owing to the vicissitudes of war, the publication itself did not follow until eighteen months later. War conditions were also responsible for the fact that she could not secure, in time to utilize it, Dr. Tillyard's book on the same subject which had been published in London in 1944. There is, however, very little in Tillyard which conflicts with her findings. The two books are complementary, not competitive, and neither of them breaks new ground. The field has been rather intensively cultivated before them. Tillyard does cover a larger number of plays. He covers for example the three parts of Henry VI, which Dr. Campbell omits for reasons which are not quite clear. Indeed so many of Shakespeare's plays are historical in content that the classification of the English history plays as "Histories" in the first folio Shakespeare seems at first glance rather arbitrary. But Dr. Campbell does not think so. She definitely rejects the idea that these plays simply reflected an outburst of English patriotism in the decade following the defeat of the Armada; she rejects also the position of J. A. R. Marriott that what characterizes the history plays is that the hero is England. She does insist, however, that in the plays specifically designated as "Histories" the interest is in the affairs of the state rather than in the affairs of individuals, in politics rather than in ethics. This is indeed her *leitmotiv*.

Dr. Campbell maintains that Shakespeare's political interests are not primarily in the narration of political events but rather in the selection and arrangement of political events in the past with reference to contemporary problems. This approach she holds to be in accord with sixteenth century justifications of history writing in general, and she has made a careful study of contemporary opinions about the matter which amply substantiates her position. Professor Tillyard, though he selects somewhat different authors to establish his point, reaches substantially the same conclusion.

In this connection, Dr. Campbell suggests that the basic political problems which confronted Elizabeth's England were (1) the struggle against Rome, (2) the question of the queen's successor, (3) the menace of domestic rebellion. She takes the Roman question to be the central theme in *King John*, the question of the succession the central theme in *Richard II*, the dangers of internal rebellion the central theme in *Henry IV*, parts one and two. *Henry V*, in her opinion, conforms more closely to the idea of an outburst of national patriotism, but Dr. Campbell finds its deeper significance in its emphasis upon the justification of war and the responsibility of the prince to avoid war except for a just cause. *Richard III*, she finally decides, belongs rather among the Tragedies than among the Histories.

All this, of course, is much more illuminating as a revelation of Elizabethan interests and attitudes than as historiography. Dr. Campbell is not concerned with

determining whether Shakespeare measures up to the canons of modern historical criticism. She is simply concerned with the reasons why he wrote history plays. His deviations from his sources were, in her opinion, dictated not by any desire for objective truth, but rather to point his moral or adorn his tale.

So far, Dr. Campbell's position is amply supported by other commentators. Where the historian will find room to quarrel with her is in her attempts to identify particular passages in the plays she considers with specific contemporary events. Thus she finds that *King John* "is concerned not with mirroring the whole conflict of Elizabeth and the Catholic church, but with reflecting that part of the conflict which centered about Mary [Queen of Scots]." In the same spirit she matches the Rising of the North with Shakespeare's account of rebellion in *Henry IV*. At one point she comes close to identifying Richard III with Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester. If space served it would be illuminating to pursue these and other analogies in greater detail. For the most part, they seem to me of doubtful validity. Nevertheless, there can be no reasonable doubt that Dr. Campbell's main position is well sustained and that she has done much to clarify the significance of Shakespeare's history plays, both in English literature and in English history.

The Huntington Library has done a handsome printing job, but not handsome enough to justify the price. Books meant to be read by scholars should be within the reach of a scholar's modest purse.

University of Pennsylvania

CONYERS READ

TORY RADICAL: THE LIFE OF RICHARD OASTLER. By Cecil Driver.
(New York: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. ix, 597. \$5.00.)

At Bradford in 1869 a statue of Richard Oastler was unveiled, eight years after his death, at a ceremony attended by about 100,000 people of all classes. Their enthusiasm, wrote Lord Shaftesbury, "know no bounds." Few men played a more conspicuous part in the events of his age or in the minds of his contemporaries, but his countrymen gradually forgot him—a paradox with which the author ends his account of a career which he describes as the embodiment of paradox.

Associated primarily with the new working-class movement, he nevertheless was a defender of the "ancient ways" of "the Altar, the Throne and the Cottage." He profoundly influenced Disraeli and the Young Englanders. He had a kinship with Carlyle and Ruskin and even William Morris, but, unlike these men, he wrote as a pamphleteer and correspondent and depended largely upon his remarkable oratorical powers. His writings were therefore ephemeral. Also, unlike Disraeli, Shaftesbury, and other politicians, he held no public office and his name was not officially associated with historically important events.

He fought for an idealized conception of an antiquated and obsolescent social

order, but in doing so he exerted a significant influence in remedying the abuses of aristocracy and in enabling it to survive the onslaughts of industrialism. His main claim to a position in history, however, is his unsurpassed influence in cutting away the excrescences of laissez-faire industrialism. He fought "the poor man's fight in the old fashioned way" and had little sympathy for popular suffrage or the "new model" unionism. Nevertheless, he stimulated and utilized for reform purposes the various organizations of factory workers and by various other means he combatted the "new slavery" to which the doctrines of laissez faire, as applied by the factory owners, were subjecting the childhood of Britain. To a later generation the hold of those doctrines is hardly understandable. Oastler was one of a small number who never yielded to their spell. To him, laissez faire was a "serpent" that had crept into the English Eden. The best years of his life were given to remedying the unbelievably bad effects of "economic freedom" for children in the factories and for wards of the parishes no longer given even the meager protection of the old poor laws. It was mainly Oastler's crusading spirit and his tremendous, long-sustained, and contagious energy that broke the spell of laissez faire. He largely organized, directed, and harmonized the various groups that supported factory regulation. These included the workers, various Radical and Tory politicians, a number of churchmen, Walter of the *Times* and various other newspapermen, and a minority of factory owners. It had been a factory owner who first awakened Oastler to the need for regulation. Most of these groups also joined Oastler's crusade against the rigors of the new poor law.

The ten-hour day, the main immediate goal of the reformers, appeared in retrospect to have been a reform so obviously needed and so slight that men forgot the fierceness of the fight and the extreme gravity of conditions that had prevailed in the factories. The vital role of the "ten hours men" was obscured by new issues and new points of view. The restoration of Oastler to his merited place in the factory reform movement is reason enough for Professor Driver's full-length biography, which is also the liveliest account of that movement yet written. In addition, Oastler's career and personality have much of intrinsic interest. Finally, the author has done some excellent etchings of the historical background. His sources are adequate and he uses them unobtrusively.

Washington, D. C.

WITT BOWDEN

THE LIFE OF NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN. By *Keith Feiling*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1946. Pp. ix, 475. \$6.00.)

THE historian of the Tory party has entered the field of recent history to write this full-length biography of Neville Chamberlain. It is, by all odds, a very considerable achievement, the more so when one notes that it was written in the darkest years of the war, 1941-44. It is friendly, but not uncritical, sympathetic but not sentimental towards its subject. The reader should not let himself be dis-

couraged by the excesses of the author's over-labored style—the unfortunate metaphors, the overloaded sentences, the grammatical lapses, the habit of referring to Chamberlain as “he” in all contexts, even at the beginning of a chapter and at other places where the identity of the “he” is completely ambiguous; such irritations become less frequent as the work progresses.

Where Professor Feiling has laid all future historians heavily in his debt is in the frequent and extensive quotations from Chamberlain's diaries and his letters to his sisters. These give a running account of his doings and his thoughts with a wealth of detail and a frankness that is at times quite damaging both to Chamberlain and to his friends. Apart from this, the book is without documentation, though the depth of the reading which has gone into its preparation is unmistakable.

The proportions of the work correspond to the unusual proportions of Chamberlain's career. One third deals with his first sixty years (1869–1929), one third with the years 1929 to 1937, and the remainder with the years of his prime ministership, from 1937, when he was sixty-eight, to his departure from office and his death in 1940. The shy youth, bereft of his mother in childhood, and long eclipsed by his elder brother, Austen, was further driven in upon himself by seven solitary years in his twenties on Andros Island in the Bahamas, where he vainly tried to grow sisal on his father's ill-fated plantation. On his return, he went into business as director of two small Birmingham companies. He was forty-two when he entered municipal politics, forty-six when he became lord mayor, forty-eight when he first held national office, as the unsuccessful director of national service, almost fifty when he first entered Parliament. Yet less than four years later, in October, 1922, he was given ministerial office by Bonar Law, and five months later entered the cabinet. During Baldwin's government (1924–29) he accomplished perhaps his best work as minister of health, proposing and largely carrying through a lengthy program, including important legislation on housing, the poor law, and local government. In 1931 he was one of the principal architects of the National government (see p. 192); and as chancellor of the exchequer from 1931 to 1937 was the real driving force in the government, through the lack of strong leadership from MacDonald and Baldwin. All other claimants to the succession had eliminated themselves—Churchill, Hoare, and the rest—so that, partly by default, the least promising of the Chamberlains finally reached the prime ministership.

That the public impression of Chamberlain was correct Professor Feiling amply confirms. He was no die-hard, but a Tory reformer in his father's tradition. But his virtues were not those of wide appeal. He was upright, straightforward, hard-working, clearheaded as to details, orderly; but he was also combative, he harbored resentments long (even toward Gladstone), he was intolerant of the slow and the imprecise. A solitary man with no close friends, he was above all the supreme egotist, proudly self-confident, and never doubting, even at the very end, the utter rightness of his policies (see especially pp. 401, 455). He was thus a “natural autocrat,” and his government, until the outbreak of war, was a “one-man govern-

ment" (p. 305); hence his domination of foreign policy, using agents of his own choice like Sir Nevile Henderson and Sir Horace Wilson. The parallel with Lloyd George, whom he bitterly hated, is ironic. It is, however, a merit of this work to bring out the other side of him. He made a late and extremely happy marriage. He was a skilled grower of orchids, a student of birds and of nature, an ardent fisherman, a lover of music; his reading was wide, and his knowledge of Shakespeare's plays almost professional.

The book sheds some new light on certain episodes, such as the contention over the leadership of the Conservative party early in 1931, and the negotiations at the Ottawa conference in 1932. It confirms in important ways what one had already pieced together of the inner details of the "crisis" of August, 1931. On the other hand, its account of other matters, such as Austen Chamberlain's position in 1922-23, is incomprehensible without further information on the reader's part; Professor Feiling does less than justice to Austen's magnanimity toward his brother (p. 101), as a reference to Sir Charles Petrie's *Austen Chamberlain*, II, 207, will show. On the most contentious part of Chamberlain's career, the "appeasement" policy culminating at Munich, the book is undoubtedly one-sided and on the defensive; but here, also, the author does his best to be fair, and has, moreover, provided important materials for a future judgment. In the discharge of his task, Professor Feiling has performed a very notable service to historical scholarship.

University of California, Los Angeles

C. L. MOWAT

THE COURSE OF GERMAN HISTORY: A SURVEY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANY SINCE 1815. By *A. J. P. Taylor*. (New York: Coward-McCann. 1946. Pp. 231. \$3.00.)

THE pretentious Thousand Years' Third Reich lies in ruins, but the "German Question" still remains a number one issue on the agenda of great dilemmas. How did the Germans come to be what they are? Was Hitlerism genuinely—and exclusively—a German disease? What are the chances for a German solution that may promise the creation of conditions of lasting peace and not another breeding ground for world conflict, total and fatal as it undoubtedly would be next time? Who but the historian should be called upon for responsible guidance, for a long-range perspective and a substantial answer to these crucial questions? The profession has been amazingly mute and inarticulate. It may be still too early to find the detachment and full comprehension for the definitive book. Preliminary attempts—groping, incomplete, biased—will easily reflect the partisan view, showing a courage of convictions more than the balance and full comprehension of settled issues. They will be open to attack, yet those provocative statements are especially necessary in our time of decisions.

A. J. P. Taylor has written just such a challenging essay, packed with substantial summaries and spiced with brilliant observations, reflecting his scholarly

maturity, his lucid mind, and his Vienna training under Pribram and the Austrian school of Friedjung and Redlich. "Serious history" though it is meant to be in the words of the author, it is certainly a tract for the times, a *Gelegenheitsbuch* in many respects. An answer to a burning query, it is an impatient book, vivid and tempestuous, pointed and pugnacious, concise and overzealous, severe and sarcastic, ambitious and angry. Grandiose in style it often overshoots its mark. The profound is mixed with the wisecrack. It has the shortcomings of its virtues. It will shock the scholarly reader but it must challenge him too. A returning American scholar reports that it challenges equally German historians, some of whom admit that it will make them rethink their modern national history.

This is a one-track book. It leaves nothing to chance and no room for shading. The original sin of the German people, says Taylor, is contained in the fact that they have received everything by order of authority from without and from above and that European domination has appealed to them as a compensation for the freedom which they had failed to achieve at home. The drives of the frontierless nation, *Land der Mitte*, have always been imitation and absorption of the West and ruthless "*Drang nach Osten*" with the determination to exterminate the Slavs. This dual aim has been accompanied from the very beginning by the Germans' claim to universal empire—the deliberate imitation of an institution which had never been theirs. Seen in this light, Hitler's Reich appears as a fulfillment of the deepest wishes of the German people and indeed as "the only system of German government ever created by German initiative" (p. 213). Moreover, the whole German history seems to be directed unerringly toward this unification through world conquest, bringing together the contradictory streams of Little and Greater Germany. The book makes Hitler the greatest German, which he certainly was not, and Germany the insoluble dilemma, which she may well be.

It is easy and dangerous to streamline history from a present-day vantage point into a single pattern. Historians often lay more stress on the effects of thought and action than on the intentions which originally motivated them. Such an approach makes history seemingly more conclusive and inevitable, cutting out all those elements of the past which are not meaningful to the present. But only in retrospect does history follow one single track. Actually history at any time is polyform, full of divergent trends and possibilities even within the life and work of a single author. German history, above all, has been characterized by a deep antagonism between contradictory forces. Instead of being the meeting ground and bridge of two worlds, the Reich has increasingly become the battlefield of East and West, irreparably torn by this dualism. Croce's *Germany and Europe* brought to full light this inner conflict and showed what constituted the fatal deviation of Germany from the stream of European civilization. Granted that Taylor's book is a corrective to a one-faced Western interpretation of the Reich, hitherto prevalent among British historians, his analysis presents an equally one-sided Germany. Many great European Germans, *i.e.* Herder, Hölderlin, Humboldt, Ranke, are

missing altogether; others are frightfully misinterpreted, *i.e.* Stein and the Reformers, even if the legend of the Wars of Liberation is rightly exploded. Granted that this other Germany has always failed until now (the latest defeat in 1944 is movingly analyzed in Allen Dulles' recent report on *Germany's Underground*), success should never be the only yardstick for quality. As the author rightly points out in respect to Bismarck's Germany, "Success is a wasting asset" (p. 116). Lost causes have often been the best causes to fight for. The academic man ought to know. The tragedy of the German opposition is not simply brushed aside with the statement, "The failure of the good Germans, not the ranting of the bad ones, was the real crime of Germany against European civilization."

These are some of Taylor's arch foes: Luther, Frederick William IV, the German academicians, to say nothing of English historians like Dr. Gooch. His friends are few and strange: Eisner and the USPD are almost the only ones who get honorable mention.

The book is rich in thought-provoking remarks and timely warnings such as: "Anti-Bolshevism in England and France, suspicion of the capitalist powers in Russia, did the trick and almost gave Germany the mastery of the world" (p. 218). There are other epigrams that are clever overstatements, even if they contain a grain of truth, or downright wrong or meaningless dicta. Here is a random collection: "Luther . . . objected to the sale of indulgences in order to raise money for the building of St. Peter's—if it had been for the purpose of massacring German peasants, Luther might never have become a Protestant" (p. 19). "After Bach, Lutheran Germany had no cultural existence" (p. 20). "The Treaty of Riga (1921), not the Treaty of Versailles, made possible the second German war" (p. 219). "The Spartacists objected to the program of pan-Germanism only that it was being achieved by counts and generals and the Hohenzollern Emperor instead of by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht" (p. 169). "Captain Bruening was half-way between General Ludendorff and Corporal Hitler, with the weaknesses of both and the advantages of neither" (p. 208). The Centre party's "guiding line was to support the existing system so long as it existed—but not a minute longer, to support it in fact only so long as support was unnecessary" (p. 194). About Bethmann-Hollweg he says: "It was useless, one might say dishonest, for him to have a high character" (p. 160).

Taylor is too good a historian not to know that national character is not a mystical concept but a "shorthand which the historian must use in order to express the effect on a community of geographical, political, and social surroundings" (p. 14). And still his crucial interpretation of National Socialism finally boils down to such a popular interpretation in terms of the perennial German national character. If it were only that, one might not have to worry so much about the Nazis' revival since Germany's defeat is complete. Proudly Taylor says, "In England they would have been shipped off to the colonies as remittance men" (p. 207). Such a view might easily relieve the world of the responsibility for the German cancer

altogether. Yet fascism is an international disease. No doubt it found in Germany the "proper" climate, yet it cannot be emphasized too strongly: National Socialism must not be dismissed simply as a German malady. "It is one of the Devil's wiles to make us believe he is Hitler," Denis de Rougemont rightly stated. Only a full understanding of and attack on its underlying social forces can counter fascism's permanent threat. While Taylor mentions the psychological and sociological elements of these crucial crisis strata, it is his fundamental shortcoming that he does not push his inquiry to the very center.

The weakness of his book becomes obvious in the answer he offers, or does not offer, in respect to Germany's future. While he does not regard it as the function of a historian to predict policies, his suggestion that "the best future for Germany would be one modelled on the examples of Switzerland and Luxembourg" (p. 10) is strangely unrealistic. In a world of superpowers it is impossible to create a vacuum between them without inviting competition and conflict. The German solution will depend on the co-operation of the superpowers, on the recognition of the omnipresent danger of international fascism and its social dynamics, on the eventual emergence of a genuinely European Germany, and on the creation of supranational ties. A simple return to "particularism" will not do.

Wesleyan University

SIGMUND NEUMANN

GERMANY FROM DEFEAT TO CONQUEST, 1913-1933. By *W. M. Knight-Patterson*. Foreword by Lord Vansittart. (London: George Allen and Unwin; distributed by Macmillan Company, New York. 1945. Pp. 622. \$5.00.)

THIS is another English variation on the Vansittart theme by an author whose name does not appear in the customary directories, and whose publishers write that they are, at present, unable to supply biographical data. It reviews the history of Germany in detail from the beginning of the first World War to the rise of Hitler. Its object is to show that Germany has suffered chronically from the malady of extreme nationalism, and that the Weimar Republic was nothing more than a "democratic and constitutional façade" (p. 370) concealing for a time the restless and inevitable *furor teutonicus*.

Germany from Defeat to Conquest follows a strict chronological order with little effort to weave a coherent pattern. An appearance of objectivity is lent it by the inclusion of an overgenerous sprinkling of quotations from contemporary newspapers, periodicals, books, and public debates. Footnotes and an extensive bibliography also add to its scholarly appearance.

Approximately the first third of the book is devoted to an analysis of German politics and personalities during and immediately after the first World War. Knight-Patterson particularly delights in pointing out the wartime inconsistencies of the Majority Socialists. Socialist "hypocrisy" in voting war credits, even though under protest, and Socialist collaboration with bourgeois parties are viewed as

quite in accord with their "standardized German mentality" (p. 121). He also condemns the Social Democrats for their part in destroying in the first postwar months what gave promise of becoming a full-scale social revolution. His praise, on the other hand, goes to the Independent Socialists and the Spartacists for remaining "faithful to their principles" (p. 70).

Throughout the book stress is laid upon the responsibility of individual statesmen and soldiers in keeping "Germanism" alive. At every possible turn Stresemann is castigated as insincere and conspiratorial in his dealings with the Allied powers and the League. Numerous quotations from his wartime speeches and from his diaries are included to illustrate his treacherous and underhanded dealings. Ludendorff is also depicted as a *bête noire*. Irrespective of the merits in the allegations directed against particular personalities, Knight-Patterson places too much responsibility upon individuals for movements and events of national and international scope.

At no point does the author display an appreciation of the economic, social, psychological, or international forces contributing to German problems. The hyperinflation of 1923 he depicts as a project "deliberately engineered by the Reichsbank and the Government with the connivance of the possessing classes" (p. 311). Stresemann, a diabolical figure, allegedly drove the German Nationalists from power in 1928 by "behind-the-scenes intrigues" (p. 415), and then manipulated the Reichstag elections in favor of the Socialists. The supposed object of this maneuver was to inspire foreign confidence sufficiently to win revision of the Dawes plan and complete evacuation of the Rhineland.

Although strategically placed Germans were obviously important in perpetuating the myth of German superiority, it is hardly correct to tar all Germans with the same brush, or to single out Germany as the only focal point of belligerent nationalism. Germany's development did not take place within a vacuum. Its history has been as much subject to world trends and pressures as that of any other country. Knight-Patterson's thesis of a peculiar German mentality, nationalism, and aggressiveness is hardly consistent with historical objectivity, and the student of modern Germany ought to use his work with utmost caution.

Elmira College

DONALD F. LACH

VOM ANDERN DEUTSCHLAND: AUS DEN NACHGELASSENEN TAGEBÜCHER, 1938-1944. Von *Ulrich von Hassell*. (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag. 1946. Pp. 396.)

Of the numerous books on Nazi Germany which have appeared in Switzerland since May, 1945, the above volume, comprising selections from the diaries of Ulrich von Hassell, is in the opinion of this reviewer by far the most important. The title, however, is misleading in at least two respects, a brief discussion of which may provide some indication of the contents.

In the first place, Hassell was scarcely qualified to speak for the *other* Germany, if indeed such an entity could be said to exist. Insofar as he was anti-Nazi, he represented *another* Germany, but a Germany as far removed from that of the common soldier or the concentration camp inmate as from that of Julius Streicher or Robert Ley. Descendant of a long line of Prussian diplomats, himself German ambassador to Italy until Ribbentrop ousted him in 1938, Hassell lived through the war on the periphery of the government service. Thrust into the background by the Nazi climbers, he spent part of his time on his Bavarian estate, part at his Berlin town house, and part on trips about Europe as an official in the Central European Economic Congress.

Hassell's resistance activities for the most part took the form of frequent meetings at which he discussed a future constitution with other men of his general background: Carl Goerdeler, Johannes Popitz, and Erwin Planck, for example. He recorded carefully in his diaries the various stages in the thinking of the dissident civil servants and retired generals: the high hopes for a bloodless coup in 1938; the attempts to win British support in 1939 and 1940; the despondency during the period of Hitler's victories; the mounting impatience of the younger conspirators with regard to Goerdeler's reactionary political program; and finally, the preparations for the putsch attempt of July 20, 1944, which Hassell, like General Beck, had come to look upon as a hopeless, albeit necessary, gesture. After it failed, he was sentenced to death by the People's Court and hanged on September 8, 1944.

The diaries, with their constant references to such subjects as French literature, Shakespeare, and meetings of the Dante Society in Weimar, provide a rich insight into the thinking of one man among a number who found Nazism repulsive partly because it cut Germany off from the European culture to which they felt it belonged by tradition. So far the motivation is attractive enough. It is with a feeling of unreality, however, that one reads the early arguments over a restoration of the monarchy: not whether or not there should be an emperor again, but whether he should be a Hohenzollern or Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria!

The second respect in which the title, *Von andern Deutschland*, is misleading is its inadequacy to convey the importance of the book as a source for the diplomatic history of World War II. Hassell moved in the highest and best-informed circles of society. Many of his friends still held important state offices. In the spring of 1941, he himself undertook a mission to the Balkan capitals which was of the first importance in the development of Axis policy in that area.

Aside from his official duties, moreover, he had a number of personal contacts with officials of Allied governments (Alexander Kirk, American counsellor of embassy in Berlin in 1940, for example). On February 22-23, 1940, Hassell tells us, he had lengthy talks in Arosa, Switzerland, with a British official who had instructions to report directly to Lord Halifax. The Arosa meeting and a later one at the same place failed to produce any agreement on principles for the peace, partly because events outran the progress of the talks; but a quotation from the note

which Hassell handed the British negotiator illustrates admirably the viewpoint of the Goerdeler circle: "All serious minded people in Germany consider it as of utmost importance to stop this mad war . . . because the danger of complete destruction and particularly a bolshevisation of Europe is rapidly growing." Hitler was only one of their enemies.

Both a conservative opposition to Nazism and a stubborn determination to permit no extension in the old ruling group run side-by-side through Hassell's book, as through all the literature of the Goerdeler conspiracy. The words of its members reveal a movement which opposed all invasions of traditional prerogatives whether by Hitler and his upstarts or by the lower, broader strata of German society. The men who fill Hassell's pages can fairly be said to have been reactionary, in the most literal and uncolored sense of the word.

Boston, Massachusetts

FRANKLIN L. FORD

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF ITALY. By *Cecil Roth*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1946. Pp. xiv, 575. \$3.00.)

NOTWITHSTANDING the long and proud history of Italian Jewry, which has the longest continuous history of any Jewish community in Europe, no full-size and exhaustive study of this subject has appeared in any language until Dr. Cecil Roth's book was published recently. Dr. Roth's study is complete in point of time, as well as in subject matter. It deals with external problems affecting the Jewish community of Italy throughout the long centuries and with the internal problems and life of that community. It gives emphasis to its economic activities and stresses the value of its cultural contributions to Judaism and to civilization in general.

Dr. Roth's rather large and comprehensive work is the result of many years of patient study and a prodigious amount of preparation. In it, he deals with events extending over a period of more than twenty centuries and at least a half-dozen different civilizations, to wit, the ancient Roman Empire, the period of the papacy, the medieval city republics, the Renaissance and the Reformation, the age of emancipation, and the period of modern totalitarianism.

The story of Jewish life in Italy, interesting and intrinsically valuable as it is, had been scattered over upwards of three hundred monographs of various sizes and in various languages. Only two of a score of sizable Jewish communities in Italy, *i.e.* Rome and Venice, have thus far been treated to full studies covering their entire history. It remained for Dr. Roth, the eminent Anglo-Jewish scholar and historian, to gather all of this disconnected material and to shape it into one continuous and readable history.

This is a pioneer work, where the author found it necessary "to lay the foundations as well as build the structure." In addition to the collection of relevant material, he has had to discover the general tendencies in a series of apparently unrelated and often seemingly isolated events in widely scattered places and to

piece them together in order to form a coherent presentation. In the words of the author, his task was "rather like that of writing a history of England for the first time," with little to work upon except for some accounts of two or three of the larger towns and the remainder being chiefly articles in various antiquarian journals written, in the main, by theologians.

In addition to concrete and authenticated facts and details, the author has made excellent use of folk legends and anecdotes to give body and substance to his descriptions and generalizations, in order to avoid presentation of a mere cataloguing of facts. He skillfully weaves into the context details drawn from inscriptions on tombstones, from rabbinical responsa, from decisions of civil courts and similar material which is otherwise unavailable to the historian who has no knowledge of Hebrew. The result is a highly interesting and fairly exhaustive history of the Jews of Italy, a history which has remained unbroken throughout the ages since Italy was the only country in Europe from which the Jews were not expelled in the Middle Ages.

The one regrettable and disappointing fact about this otherwise solid and valuable study is the lack of a full bibliography and bibliographical annotations. Instead, the author merely refers to the existence of a classified bibliography of Italian Jewish history in Gabrieli's *Italia Judaica*, published in Rome in 1924, and therefore feels it is unnecessary to list those titles again. In a bibliographical note of less than one page, he makes general reference to various monographs which have appeared in the last two decades. This, however, in no way detracts from the fact that much painstaking research has gone into the preparation of the work.

Washington, D. C.

MURRAY FRANK

COMPLACENT DICTATOR. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare (*Viscount Templewood*). (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. xvi, 319, vi. \$3.50.)

SIR Samuel Hoare's account of his wartime mission in Spain, which inevitably suggests comparison with Professor Hayes's volume (see *American Historical Review*, January, 1947, p. 298), provides an intensely interesting and even fascinating piece of reading, and a rather rich, if partial, education concerning the Spanish nation, while not adding greatly to our knowledge of international questions during the period covered (1940-1944). Incidentally there is provided a surprising amount of thought on general human cultural and intellectual problems.

The tone or flavor of the book is not always the most pleasing. There is a certain amount of spiritual pretentiousness or sententiousness which arouses mistrust. Coupled with deep sincerity and strong devotion to certain principles—in the main the moral qualities of the genuine Englishman—is found a certain amount of personal posing which even affects the style of the narrative. The reader yearns for more genuine simplicity and relaxed candor.

On the other hand, the reader of "leftist" persuasions could hardly ask for

more drastic treatment of Franco, Suñer, and the Falange than that penned by one of the villains of the Hoare-Laval fiasco. They are, however, condemned not on the ground that they are dictatorial or totalitarian, as "leftists" would like (communists objecting to any rivals in that game), but on more solid grounds (intelligence, honesty, decency) which are not those stressed by most of their opponents, apart from the external factors of pro-Axis partnership in the war. Franco and Suñer, indeed, and other Spanish politicians, are at times castigated in terms of their physique and personal manners and other features in a way which seems rather beneath the dignity of a serious study. The complacency of Franco, while amply portrayed, also seems rather overworked.

It is in his reflections on the Spanish land and the Spanish people and Spanish political life that Sir Samuel is at his best, albeit a rather heavy best. He really compels the reader to think about Spain and that is very rewarding indeed. He provides a good antidote to the gilded words of Madariaga. This element in the book almost rehabilitates the author as an intelligent statesman.

American University

PITMAN B. POTTER

American History

HENRY ADAMS AND HIS FRIENDS. Compiled, with a Biographical Introduction, by *Harold Dean Cater*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1947. Pp. cxix, 797. \$7.50.)

It is not an exaggeration to say that Dr. Cater has made the greatest contribution that has yet been made to our knowledge of Henry Adams, the man. It is not likely that any future contribution can be of equal importance. Not only has he added some 650 letters (1858-1918) to the two volumes edited by Worthington C. Ford (1930, 1938) and the *Letters to a Niece* (1920) compiled by Mabel La Farge, but he has definitely established the *oral tradition* of Henry Adams. This he has accomplished while it was still possible to do so, by means of long interviews which sometimes lengthened themselves into visits, and of industrious correspondence with the survivors of Adams' circle of intimates, friends, and acquaintances. On the basis of this oral tradition and of nearly the entire body of Adams' letters, Dr. Cater has written a biographical introduction in 107 closely printed pages, which constitutes the longest, as it is the most faithful account of Henry Adams yet produced.

Like many other writers on Henry Adams, Dr. Cater did not know him personally (he was not born in the right century for that), but he has achieved a spiritual understanding of Adams that imparts authority to his account. The Henry Adams of Dr. Cater is unmistakably the Henry Adams whom the present reviewer knew in Paris in the years before World War I.

Dr. Cater dwells upon the "essential warmth and compassion" of Adams' personality (p. vii) and adds:

. . . he was an arch-individualist, a warm-hearted dilettante, and one of the most profoundly thoughtful of skeptics. . . . The Puritan in him . . . caused inhibitions that endlessly annoyed him. . . . In Washington he enjoyed a life of retirement with a closed circle of intimates who were devoted to him. He practised inconsistency as if it were a cult. . . . He loved paradox and absurdity, and usually wrote and talked with his tongue in his cheek. Henry Adams was so many-sided that he cannot be described in a parenthesis. A few strokes of the brush can never paint his portrait [p. xvi].

It is with many fine strokes, skillfully applied, that Dr. Cater has succeeded in portraying the personality of Henry Adams.

Dr. Cater's estimate of Adams as a historian and intellectual is discriminating and just. In the opening paragraph of the biographical introduction the author quotes from a letter which Henry wrote to his brother Brooks in June, 1898: "So we can foresee a new centralization, of which Russia is one pole and we the other, with England between. The Anglo-American alliance is almost inevitable." "Here," writes Dr. Cater,

was Henry Adams at his best; brilliantly generalizing, sweeping aside the shyness and caution that usually constricted him and revealing for one brief moment that thing which to him was as food and drink, the ability to blend together all the diverse forces at work in the world and point out their simple and inevitable aftermath. He devoted a lifetime to study and thought, and everywhere sought synthesis and order. . . . He traveled into most of the far places of the globe in his search for knowledge. He became one of the foremost thinkers in the United States and one of its greatest historians [p. xv].

The 650 letters which Dr. Cater has brought together are characteristic Adams letters. He wrote as he talked, and nothing so much resembled his conversation as his letters. As one reads them one can hear again the plaintive, humorous, kindly, and slightly querulous voice; one can see the gestures of the delicate hands and the shades of expression that passed across the face which seemed at once calm and animated. And one encounters the same ideas, the same intellectual play, the same expressions. The letters *are* Henry Adams; even more than the letters published by Worthington Ford, whose editing was sometimes severe, they reveal the personality of the writer. Of special interest to the readers of this journal are the letters to historians such as John G. Palfrey, Charles Deane, Sir Henry Maine, George Bancroft, Henry Osborn Taylor, and John Franklin Jameson. The letters to the last named, twenty-seven in number, 1906-1912, deal with various matters: meetings of the American Historical Association, distribution of some of Adams' books, especially the *Letter to American Teachers of History*, to the members of the historical profession; Carl L. Becker's article on "Kansas"—"Professor Becker shaves dangerously near laughing at us now

and then. I enjoy not only the laugh, but also the restraint which holds it back. He is always in good taste" (p. 709); a luncheon with Charles H. Haskins and the reviewer—"Haskins is doing the Norsemen or Normans or Danes, or I know not what. . . . What harm does he want to do the poor Danes!" (p. 716); and Jameson's vain efforts to secure criticisms by scientists of Adams' essay, "The Rule of Phase in History." This story is told in an interesting footnote (p. 650) and furnishes an instructive commentary on the state of the scientific mind in 1909, before the scientists had, as Hans Zinsser later put it, "joined the church."

Adams' presidency of the American Historical Association furnished amusing matter in a letter to John Hay in September, 1894:

My bête noire and name-sake H. B. Adams . . . has scored off me neatly. I arrived here [Washington] happy in the thought that the Historical Association had met, as announced, at Saratoga, Sept. 12, and had by this time merrily gone its path, led by a new and, I need not say, a less capable President. My name-sake coppered me neatly. I find a circular postponing the occasion till Dec. 27, *at Washington*. Really, he has put me in a tight place, but if King will go to Mexico I may escape. If compelled to face the foe, I shall have to do it as near as I can to a gentleman, which means that Mrs. Hay and I shall throw open your house, and entertain everybody every night on your oysters, terrapin and champagne [p. 328].

King did go to Mexico and Adams escaped the meeting. His presidential address, "The Tendency of History," he sent in the form of a letter dated from Guadalajara, which Dr. Cater believes to have been written in Washington before his departure, as doubtless it was. (See *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1894.)

The theme that most absorbed Henry Adams was the progression in human history from unity to multiplicity, and the range of his thought was from *Mont St. Michel and Chartres* to *A Letter to American Teachers of History*. An extract from a letter to Henry Osborn Taylor of January, 1905, presents the problem as Adams saw it, and may fittingly terminate this review:

. . . I am trying to work out the formula of anarchism; the law of expansion from unity, simplicity, morality, to multiplicity, contradiction, police. I have done it scientifically, by formulating the ratio of development in energy, as in explosives, or chemical energies. . . . The ratio for thought is not so easy to fix. I can get a time-ratio only in philosophy. The assumption of unity which was the mark of human thought in the middle-ages has yielded very slowly to the proofs of complexity. . . . Yet it is quite sure, according to my score of ratios and curves, that, at the accelerated rate of progression shown since 1600, it will not need another century or half-century to tip thought upside down. Law, in that case, would disappear as theory or *à priori* principle, and give place to force. Morality would become police. Explosives would reach cosmic violence. Disintegration would overcome integration [pp. 558-59].

It was in March, 1918, while the great German offensive was at its height that Henry Adams died, convinced that what he had foreseen was even then being realized.

Washington, D. C.

WALDO G. LELAND

THE LOWELLS AND THEIR SEVEN WORLDS. By *Ferris Greenslet*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946. Pp. xi, 442. \$4.00.)

THE idea of "three generations from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves" is perhaps more characteristic of everyday American thinking than that of families which persist, generation after generation, on a high level of character, brains, and public service. Yet our country does not lack such families, and this chronicle of one of them is both interesting in itself and stimulating to reflection. Perennials are a better investment than annuals in society as well as in gardens; and one may ask oneself whether a stronger sense of the possibility of carrying a family devotion to virtue and wisdom through many generations might not prove a subtle correction to some of the irresponsibility of our time.

The "seven worlds" on the stages of which the Lowells appear as players are for the most part eras—"The New World," "Revolution," "The Turbid Time," "Periclean Age," and "Civil War"; but "Victorian New England" contracts the stage, and "The New World Again" relates its leading figures, Percival, Guy, Amy, and Lawrence, to fields of activity—science, the arts, and education—rather than to their times. Naturally, the generations of the Lowell family do not fit neatly into these categories. Several of the conspicuous members lived in more than one of the worlds, as for instance John Lowell, "The Rebel" (1769-1840), who knew three of them. Because of this fact and because of the complexities brought about by the three fruitful marriages of the Old Judge, the skeletonized genealogy at the end of the book is essential to save the reader from confusion. Even so he may flounder a little, and anyone reading of the intermarriage among "the clan" feels absolved forever from any attempt to fathom the relationships of old Bostonians. From time to time, however, he finds himself on solid ground when the author sums up the achievements and distinguishing characteristics of the chief actors. Various as are their talents they keep the distinctive Lowell flavor; and not the least interesting section of the book is the epilogue in which a "Plutarchian comparison" is made between them and the equally distinctive Adamses.

The scene is Massachusetts and mainly Boston. That is not to say that the activities of the Lowells were of only local importance. They were practical men, and their family motto, *occasionem cognosce*, expresses their readiness to seize opportunities close at hand. But opportunities in the inception and development of the industrial age, in the practice of law and still more in its interpretation from the federal bench, in politics and public affairs, usually without holding elective

office, but with lively tongue and pen, take men into fields which are of more than local significance; and science, the arts, and education have no geographical boundaries. Boston was their nutshell, but it did not circumscribe their interests or their influence.

Harvard, "the Seminary" as they called it, was almost a family preserve. John Lowell, who entered Harvard in 1717 at the age of thirteen, was the first of the family to study there, and after him the succession was practically unbroken. From 1784 their association with Harvard was still closer. To the death of Lawrence Lowell in 1943 "there was only one decade in which some member of the family was not a member of the Corporation, of the Board of Overseers, or of the faculty—five Fellows, five Overseers, two professors, one president, contributing altogether to the work of carrying on the college two hundred and ten man-years." In his administration as president (1909-1933) Lawrence Lowell made his chief claim to remembrance, and his family reached its completest identification with Harvard. Mr. Greenslet does not attempt as careful an evaluation of his career as has been given some of his forebears, in view, as he says, of the approaching publication of the official life. In the opinion of this reviewer, Lawrence Lowell's conception of the nature of the educational process, even if the methods he set up for its operation are abandoned, will work like yeast in American education for a long time to come.

This book is history, but it is also literature. Its organization suggests a work of fiction, and its style—allusive, witty, and vivacious—is often that of the familiar essay. It is a story of successful lives and of a proud tradition, but the characters are shown also under strain and in discouragement and sometimes in defeat. The author is no panegyrist. A practical cogitator has bent upon the Lowells an appraising as well as a friendly eye.

New Haven, Connecticut

ADA COMSTOCK NOTESTEIN

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHIC ADDRESSES, 1700-1900. Edited by *Joseph L. Blau*. [Columbia Studies in American Culture, No. 17.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. xxi, 762. \$6.75.)

Dr. Blau, the editor of this collection of readings in American thought, which is intended to parallel Herbert W. Schneider's *History of American Philosophy*, makes an abrupt departure from the Muelder-Sears and the Anderson-Fisch types of philosophic anthologies. He has chosen to restrict his selections to a single literary form—the philosophic address—of which he feels there are available numerous outstanding examples that could be reproduced in full without the mutilations of ideas characteristic of essay and book extracts. Besides, he holds that the philosophic oration, so popular in American cultural history and linked intimately with specific public occasions requiring a definite theme, can be used comparatively to study the degree to which various important philosophic formu-

lations were universalized over wide geographic areas by common intellectual and social forces. Thus the editor avoids the fragmentary anthology, which can scarcely escape superficiality, in favor of complete expository addresses.

Such advantages have not been achieved without a price. The exclusion of all philosophic materials not in the form of addresses has meant the omission of famous men in the history of American ideas. For example, the section on the philosophy of science excludes John Fiske, although it is true that evolution is ably represented by James Woodrow. Likewise, the student will miss Charles S. Peirce, particularly his fertile essay "How to Make Our Ideas Clear," and the basic essays of Oliver Wendell Holmes, jr.

The twenty-seven addresses given here are largely outside the field of formal philosophy, reminding us once more of how little "philosophy" actually appears in our intellectual history. The first nine essays deal with the philosophy of American culture and include Emerson's famous Phi Beta Kappa address and Wendell Phillips' reformist paper, "The Scholar in a Republic." These show the growing self-consciousness of a distinct American culture rooted in the plain people rather than an elite. The eight addresses on science examine the religious and moral implications of the changing scientific dogmas from Newtonianism to evolution. In religion, ten addresses cover the shift from Calvinism to the more secular Unitarianism and finally the New Theology which rejected conversion in the catastrophic form of Jonathan Edwards in favor of systematic religious training.

Here is the representative thought of a number of leading Americans: Emerson, Bancroft, Edwards, Brownson, Ingersoll, Theodore Parker, W. E. Channing, Noah Porter, Francis Wayland, Benjamin Rush, Edward Everett, Horace Bushnell, and others. These should furnish the basis for many a profitable discussion. The reviewer was particularly struck by new implications in George Bancroft's thought which had previously escaped him: In "The Office of the People in Art, Government, and Religion," Bancroft eulogizes the "common mind" in such extreme Hegelian terms as to glorify the masses at the expense of the individual. Believing that the people collectively are wiser than the most gifted individual and are "the true recipient of truth," he opens the door to a form of group worship which has an ominous antihumanist ring if placed in the Hegelian setting of incipient German nationalism. A reanalysis of the "cult of the common man" suggests antidemocratic assumptions in certain philosophers of the day. Mass-worship does not always imply a belief in the goodness and capacity of the individual but may be derived from antirational and indeed mystical premises.

Dr. Blau has prepared a careful, serviceable series of analytical introductions for each address, including a calendar of the chief biographic facts for each person represented. This should serve classes in history, philosophy, and literature and is a worth-while addition to the general library.

Western Reserve University

HARVEY WISH

A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY FOUNDED BY JOHNS HOPKINS.

By *John C. French*, Librarian Emeritus in the Johns Hopkins University.
(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 492. \$4.75.)

AMERICAN universities in this twentieth century tend to become much alike, following something of a common pattern. With variation in nomenclature, all are possessed of a president, trustees, schools and departments with their several faculties, and a student body. Not escaping the material side of life, and indeed not untouched by the influence of other large business organizations, they are perennially concerned with buildings, grounds, equipment, endowment, revenues, and, too often, deficits. Upon all these and many kindred topics Dr. French, whose long service in the Johns Hopkins University has been both in the department of English and as the head of the university library, is peculiarly fitted to discourse. His book, markedly inclusive in its scope, is written with succinctness and with clarity.

But no biographer of a university, and least of all Dr. French writing of the Johns Hopkins, would be content to limit himself to the consideration of a pattern, of the common denominator. On the contrary the historian in such a case will be equally concerned with the *differentia*, with those factors that distinguish one institution from another. As to the beginnings of the Johns Hopkins in the seventies of the nineteenth century, the task of Dr. French has been both an easy and an inspiring one. For this university was intended to be, and actually was, something very different from the pattern, if there was one, that prevailed in the United States. Concerning these early years, and about the Quaker merchant Johns Hopkins, the first president, Daniel Coit Gilman, and the founding trustees and faculty, much has been written. Dr. French's book is without preface, introduction, footnotes, or bibliography, and the only work which he specifically cites as a reference is Helen Hopkins Thom's *Johns Hopkins: A Silhouette*; but one does not read far in the volume without discovering the thoroughness with which Dr. French has pursued his study.

Dr. French's narrative is built principally around the first four presidents of the university—Gilman, Remsen, Goodnow, and Ames. He wisely leaves to a future historian the years of President Bowman and World War II. Of especial value is the detailed account of the acquisition of the Homewood tract, where later were to arise the fine buildings that now house the university. The gift of the land came as a heartening factor in the wake of financial loss and discouragement and provided opportunity not only for the removal of the existing university departments from the Little Ross Street region but also for the new schools of applied science and engineering. The move to Homewood was delayed until after the resignation of Ira Remsen and the election of Frank J. Goodnow as president.

After summary comment on the work of President Gilman Dr. French follows a procedure by topics rather than by chronology. It is in the elaboration of these

that Dr. French has found space to mention many of the outstanding figures of the university's life and work and thus to bring to every "Hopkins man" a reminder of those whom he knew or saw or heard about.

If, notwithstanding these many excellences, one lays down Dr. French's book with a feeling that something is lacking, the explanation is not difficult. The book is written, no doubt, too much from within the Johns Hopkins community; and a more realistic development might have been given to some of the problems of the middle period. But these are merely some limitations in what, in the large, is a good and useful book.

Chevy Chase, Maryland

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

THE WESTWARD CROSSINGS: BALBOA, MACKENZIE, LEWIS AND CLARK. By *Jeannette Mirsky*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. xv, 365, xiii. \$4.00.)

THE title of this book becomes clear only after one has grasped its central idea, namely, that in the great drama of exploration certain of the characters aimed at reaching the Pacific Ocean by traversing the entire width of the continent. These men were the successful ones listed in the title, but there were also unsuccessful ones like John Ledyard, Peter Pond, and others. With this as her central theme, Miss Mirsky has written a well-integrated account of exploration in general, from the days of Columbus until Jefferson's administration. Though she focuses attention on Balboa, Mackenzie, and Lewis and Clark, she has filled in the gaps between them with excellent summaries of the aspirations and attempts of such men as Bering, other Russian explorers, Ledyard, Pond, and Captain Cook, besides giving not a little information about the great fur-trading companies. I am sorry to find no account of David Thompson but refreshed to note that the author comprehends Jefferson's role in the play.

One of the many excellencies of the book is its style. It manages to be forceful, entertaining, even arresting at times, without adopting the commonplace devices of many modern authors. There is no sacrificing of grammatical correctness or exactness of phrase in order to catch the reader's attention or on the mistaken assumption that today's reader cannot comprehend words of more than two syllables.

By and large the author has mastered her subject—not an easy undertaking when one considers the plethora of original narratives of North American explorers, not to mention the secondary books and articles. Her general background of North American anthropology and history is sufficient for her to make casual generalizations correctly and thus to tie one explorer's work to another's. There is no break in the narrative between 1492 and 1806, though only five explorers are mentioned explicitly in the table of contents.

In a book of such scope, there are bound to be places where the specialist

will protest. On page 117, for example, I find a statement about voyageurs with which I cannot agree: "They subsisted on fish—unrelieved by salt or cereal or vegetable—and brandy." Peas, corn, pemmican, and grease formed the voyageur's staples of diet while traveling; and in winter quarters the larder was filled with whatever the country afforded. On page 119 there is an inference that the Hudson's Bay Company was founded in 1663 or a little earlier, whereas, of course, it was actually founded in 1670. Even if one goes back of the charter date and traces the founding to the first attempt at trading in Hudson Bay by the group that organized later, one cannot get farther back than 1666 or 1667.

There are numerous illustrations from old and rare books, besides two maps, excellent in the main. One might pick flaws here and there in the maps—such as the representation of the Red River of the North and the Minnesota River as one continuous stream—but, in general, the effect is what one could desire.

It would have been only professional courtesy to have acknowledged the sources of the illustrations, scarcely any of which are given credit lines, though coming from well-known books to be found in any large library.

There is a short but good working bibliography, more for the ordinary reader's use than to indicate the author's sources. There is also an adequate index.

Hamline University

GRACE LEE NUTE

LOST MEN OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Stewart H. Holbrook*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1946. Pp. xiv, 370. \$3.50.)

THAT Mr. Holbrook enjoyed writing this book is obvious. That a goodly number of the American people will enjoy reading it seems equally obvious, for it is instructive, entertaining, and readable. The student of American social and economic history, to be sure, will not find in it much that is new, but it was not written with such readers in mind. Rather it represents an effort to acquaint the general reader with many of those men and women who contributed much to the variety and richness, as well as something to the course, of American life and history, but who are now all but forgotten, except as they may be found in sources not always easily accessible to the public.

From the Reverend Alexander Young, who did much to foster the log cabin myth in America, to Private Joseph Lockard, who came so close to changing the course of American history at Pearl Harbor, Mr. Holbrook tells the stories, at greater or lesser length, of well over 125 men and women. Among them are to be found a number of the lesser known heroes and villains of our several wars; contributors to American political, cultural, and economic development who, perhaps largely for lack of space, receive little or no attention in our general histories; eccentrics who have enriched American life; reformers and women's rights advocates; half-forgotten labor leaders, various apostles of discontent, sundry muckrakers, and other critics of the American scene.

Nor does the author wholly confine himself to his "lost men." One chapter is devoted to the log cabin myth, another to the curious pictorial history of the "battle" of Lexington, while occasional interesting paragraphs touch upon such curiosities of American history as the symbolism of New England gravestones, the Cavalier tradition in the South, and the influence of Horatio Alger, jr., on the popular economic philosophy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A final chapter stresses the educational value of the Harding era for the American people.

One might easily call attention to a number of interesting Americans who are not included by Mr. Holbrook in his study, but there are limits to what can be done in a single volume. On the whole the author's selection is a good one and well balanced, although the space allotted to specific individuals might sometimes be criticized. Perhaps the chief weakness of the book lies in the rather excessive number of individuals treated by the author. By the time the reader has put it down he is inclined to feel that many of the "lost men" are half lost again. A judicious selection of a smaller number of individual histories might have driven home the purpose of the book equally well and left room for a further interesting volume along the same lines. Background and connecting material are sometimes oversimplified; and there are a number of rather sweeping generalizations which need qualification. In at least one case, that of Frances Wright, the account seems to be based on hostile contemporary newspaper material accepted without question. There are a few errors of fact. The compromise of 1850, for example, did not abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, nor did the Supreme Court settle the Dred Scott case "by one of its five-to-four decisions."

Despite the above criticisms, Mr. Holbrook has given us a book which deserves to be, and undoubtedly will be, widely read and enjoyed.

Dartmouth College

W. R. WATERMAN

LETTERS AND PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND RICHARD JACKSON, 1753-1785. Edited and annotated with an Introduction by *Carl Van Doren*. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1947. Pp. ix, 222. \$3.50.)

STUDENTS of American colonial history were attracted by a news item appearing in the press early in 1945 that at a London public sale a collection of letters and other documents that had passed between Benjamin Franklin and Richard Jackson Esq. of the Inner Temple had been acquired by the American Philosophical Society from the Malone estate of "Scampton Hall," Malton, in Yorkshire. These now appear in print under the competent editorship of Carl Van Doren, not only author of the Pulitzer Prize biography *Benjamin Franklin* but also editor of the recently published *Benjamin Franklin's Autobiographical Writings*.

It is needless to emphasize the importance of the role played by "Omniscient" Jackson between the years 1758 and 1770 in colonial affairs either as London agent or as legal adviser for the assemblies of Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and also, for a briefer period, of Massachusetts Bay, while at the same time he was—at least after the election of 1762—acting as a member of Parliament. He was, all in all, not only the most active but also the most influential of the London colonial agents, outside of Franklin, and the two saw eye to eye on most issues affecting America and held for one another a very deep regard. Their correspondence, therefore, as one might have anticipated, is of the highest importance to the historian, especially in view of fact that much of it is not official but intimate and highly confidential. Fortunately, the number of letters and documents covering the early sixties of the century—a time when Great Britain was seeking to reorganize the colonial system—is comparatively numerous. Most of these present Franklin in the role of the conservative: the champion of the royal prerogative as against the proprietorial rights under the Pennsylvania charter; the champion of property and of a sound interest-bearing paper currency for the province as against such unsecured and wildcat bills of credit as afflicted Rhode Island and North Carolina; and, also, the champion of western expansion and modern imperialism. Jackson is now disclosed as the person who apparently was the first to make the distinction between American "external" and "internal" taxation on the part of Parliament, in favoring the first and opposing the latter, while at the same time stressing the unlimited authority of that body with respect to American affairs.

Dr. Van Doren's scholarly introduction adds greatly to the value of the book. Pownall, referred to in this, was, it may be mentioned, lieutenant governor of New Jersey rather than of New York before becoming governor of Massachusetts Bay, while New England was Congregational rather than Presbyterian in its form of church polity.

Lehigh University

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

THE TEXAS REPUBLIC: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY. By William Ransom Hogan. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1946. Pp. xiii, 338. \$3.00.)

THAT Texas was once an independent republic, complete with president, congress, foreign office, army, navy, its own paper money, and a national debt, is a fact mentioned in all American histories. It is even occasionally mentioned by orators and journalists, particularly if the orator or journalist happens to be a Texan.

Notwithstanding this widely known fact, and justified pride in the history of the state, the internal history of Texas during that brief period of independence is one of the most neglected chapters of western history. There has been great

emphasis upon the cultural and racial clash of the Anglo-Texans with the Spanish American ideals and government. The combat narrative is greatly detailed through San Jacinto, 1836. Then the story of Texas too often becomes a part of the United States slavery question, of the diplomacy of annexation, and of the Mexican War.

Too few serious studies have been devoted to the internal workings of the little, powder-stained, buckskin republic. Had the author of the current book broadened his subject to include a few chapters on the internal politics, on its shifting diplomatic policies, and on its efforts to keep the Mexicans from reinvading in force, on its hectic problems in public finance, Indian affairs, etc., this would be the best book thus far written on Texas as an independent nation—as the Republic.

To criticize a book, however, for its omissions rather than on the basis of what its author planned to do, is unfair. It must be admitted that within the realm specified by his subtitle—social and economic history—the author has skillfully achieved his purpose. Unlike most writers of local histories, he does not roam far afield from his chosen subject. In one chapter he disposes of the social and economic forces that sent the stream of frontiersmen from the older West into Texas. Thereafter the story sticks strictly to social and economic life within the borders of the Republic. The chapters on transportation, cultural ferment, religion, frontier sicknesses, and “Rampant Individualism” are extremely interesting, well written, and well documented. They add much to an understanding of modern Texas.

Writing on subjects of such wide interest, the author necessarily drew his materials from a very extensive bibliography. The thirty pages listing his sources and other materials at the book's end thus constitute one of the best and most convenient, general bibliographies of Texan history. The entire book is of such quality that one cannot resist the hope Dr. Hogan will follow it with a companion volume devoted to the political, military, diplomatic, and financial history of independent Texas. Such a book would join the present work in giving to the Republic of Texas an excellent history, of convenient length, that is long overdue.

Wisconsin State Teacher's College

JIM DAN HILL

TRAIL TO CALIFORNIA: THE OVERLAND JOURNAL OF VINCENT GEIGER AND WAKEMAN BRYARLY. Edited with an Introduction by *David Morris Potter*, Assistant Professor of History in Yale University. [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, XX.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1945. Pp. xii, 266. \$3.50.)

This book is an important addition to the literature of the California gold rush of 1849. The Geiger-Bryarly journal, published from the original manuscript in the Coe Collection of Yale University Library, ranks above the average diary of its type and the editorial work of Professor Potter is of a superior quality.

Even though the California gold rush is by no means a neglected subject, as the editor well observes, this volume will be welcomed by the student of history and the general reader as an interesting and significant new contribution in this field.

Vincent E. Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly, veterans of the Mexican War, had hardly returned to civilian life in 1848 before they were smitten by the California "gold fever." When this excitement broke out, Bryarly was a physician in Baltimore and Geiger was editor of a newspaper, the *Republican Vindicator*, of Staunton, Virginia. Both young men joined "The Charlestown (Va.) Mining Company," which was organized in Charlestown, Jefferson County, Virginia (now West Virginia), early in 1849. The company adopted a detailed constitution, which was first printed in the *Virginia Free Press* (Charlestown, Va.) on February 15, 1849, and which was published separately about a week later "at 12½ cents per copy." This company, as Professor Potter points out, consisted of about eighty young men, principally from Jefferson County, some of whom were veterans of the Mexican War. "In general," writes the editor, "they were farmers or mechanics who had grown up thereabouts, and were widely known" (p. 31). The company left Charlestown by railroad on March 27, 1849, and, journeying by railroad, stage, or steamboat, passed through Harpers Ferry, Cumberland (Md.), Brownsville (Penna.), Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, whence it proceeded to St. Joseph (Mo.), one of the main frontier starting points for the overland trek to California.

Early in May the company crossed the Missouri River at St. Joseph and on May 10 and 11 started from its encampment there for the Far West. It traveled by way of the Platte River, Sublette's Cut-Off, Fort Hall, Humboldt River, and Truckee River, and arrived at Johnson's Ranch, California, on September 1, after a tiresome journey of 115 days. Geiger wrote the diary from St. Joseph to a point southwest of the present Casper, Wyoming, a period of 44 days (May 10-June 22); Bryarly, who was the company's physician, continued the diary to a point about twenty-eight miles east of Johnson's Ranch, a period of 69 days (June 23-August 30). Although the entries of both men are of value to the historian, the notations of Bryarly are more detailed and contain a full description of the latter part of the journey, which is sometimes treated briefly by other diarists. The journal as a whole contains new information on a number of subjects, the most important of which are the following: daily routine of overland travel; food eaten by the emigrants; Indians and trappers met along the trail; ferrying and fording streams; weather conditions; buffalo hunts; disease, accidents, and deaths among the emigrants; descriptions of Sublette's Cut-Off, Soda Springs, and Fort Hall; and the journey along the Humboldt and over the Sierra Nevada. But neither Geiger nor Bryarly gives sufficient emphasis to the hardships of their journey, which are more adequately depicted in Benjamin Hoffman's diary (edited by Professor Ambler) of the same expedition and in contemporary newspapers. At times the company was on the verge of breaking up, but, largely through the capable

leadership of its guide, Frank Smith, and through the exercise of restraint and common sense by its members, this contingency never materialized. In fact, the Charlestown Mining Company appears to have been the largest association to travel this trail in 1849 without disintegrating along the way.

The editorial work consists principally of a well-documented introduction of seventy-three pages, brief introductions to each chapter of the diary, and 159 critical and explanatory footnotes to the diary itself. In this work Professor Potter presents an excellent narrative of the personal histories of Geiger and Bryarly, of the structural organization of the overland mining associations, of the type of draft animals best suited to the overland trek, of the actual loads which could be best carried by the wagons, of the ratio of men to animals and to wagons, and of the reasons for the success or failure of the various expeditions. Using all of the unpublished diaries in the Coe Collection for this route in 1849—ten in number—as well as twenty-eight printed diaries or reminiscences, he has drawn comparisons between the experiences of Geiger and Bryarly and those of other emigrants traveling the same route in 1849, thus bringing out in clear relief the place of the Charlestown Company in the great rush of that year. The total result is that Professor Potter has written the best history of the most important overland route to California in 1849 which has thus far appeared in print. Besides, he publishes valuable material in the appendix, including the constitution of the Charlestown Company, a roster of members of the company, Geiger's diary from Staunton, Virginia, to St. Joseph, Missouri (February 8–April 1), and excellent tables showing the travel schedule of a number of emigrants of 1849 by way of the South Pass. The bibliography is selective and critical, the map is adequate, and the index excellent.

Washington University

RALPH P. BIEBER

THE TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES, 1861–1890: STUDIES IN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION. By *Earl S. Pomeroy*, Assistant Professor of History, Ohio State University. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1947. Pp. vi, 163. \$2.50.)

DURING the thirty-year period covered by this study the territories of the United States included a large portion of the area of the United States. Yet until the publication of this volume there was not in print a descriptive account of the territorial system of government as distinct from a summary of the laws enacted by Congress for the territories and from the accounts of particular territories. The volume under review, though on the slender side, goes far toward filling in a commendable way an important gap in the history of the nation. Except for Professor Clarence E. Carter, the author of *The Territories of the United States* is probably the most active contemporary student of the territorial government

of the United States as a system of government and as the connecting link between the federal government and the territories.

The brevity of the volume does not accurately reflect the mass of material that has been utilized. Apparently no page has been left unturned by the author in seeking data not only in the archives and manuscript collections in Washington but also among the records and materials in the libraries and capitals of the states that were territories during the period under study. The selection of the years 1861-1890 seems a logical one. Apart from the shift in public interest in the territories from public lands and slavery to "Indian Wars and mines, future congressmen and present patronage" which occurred about 1861 and apart from a shift in public interest, near the end of the period, from the continental territories to the insular possessions, there was during the three decades under study "a territorial belt with relative political stability and with certain common social and physiographic characteristics. . . ."

The 108 pages of text are divided into nine chapters of approximately equal length save for a long chapter on "Territorial Finances" and an extremely short chapter on "The Committees on Territories." The supervisory activities of the Departments of State and Interior are treated in separate chapters. Territorial justice, patronage, and representation in Congress receive considerable attention. The final chapter on "The System and the People" is particularly good.

While there are no maps or illustrations, there is a helpful index, a complete and detailed bibliography, and two long appendixes which contain the names and terms of territorial officials and delegates.

The selection of this volume for publication from the income of the Albert J. Beveridge Fund is well-justified recognition of its quality and importance. The almost flawless execution of the details of editing and publishing deserves comment.

University of Kansas

GEORGE L. ANDERSON

EXPERIMENT IN REBELLION. By *Clifford Dowdey*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1946. Pp. xxi, 455. \$3.75.)

SOME years ago, the historical novel, *Bugles Blow No More*, established Clifford Dowdey as a man who understood a great deal about the Southern Confederacy. He visualized the events and sensed the moods of the Civil War with remarkable perception, and he knew the city of Richmond (where he was reared) as a cat knows the interior of a house. After several intervening novels, Mr. Dowdey now returns to the Civil War theme with a historical account of the Confederacy, or rather of the Davis administration.

The fact that the author is primarily a novelist should not, and, in this review, will not be used to minimize his contribution to history, but it does go far to explain both his merits and his limitations. As a fictionist, he has cultivated an in-

sight into personality and a talent for characterization. These qualities, given full play, enable him to interpret Jefferson Davis, Varina Howell Davis, James Mason, John Slidell, and other figures of the Confederacy with vividness and a sharpness of focus unexcelled since Gamaliel Bradford. But he also indulges in some characterizations which partake of the intuitive and which stress one trait of the individual in a way that heightens dramatic effect but also verges on stereotype. This is notably true in the treatment of Benjamin, who is constantly depicted as wholly selfish and completely impervious to emotion. It is excellent to question, as Mr. Dowdey does, why Benjamin, with his transcendent ability, did not exert himself more strenuously to prevent the blunders which he must have recognized in the administration, but his imperturbability was probably not so much heartlessness as it was the composure of a man who has learned to conceal his troubles from friends and biographers alike.

The craft of the novelist also appears, constantly, in the phrasing, the vigor of which sometimes runs over into exuberance, but more often etches a trait or a personality in words that carry a real impact. On the exuberant side are the designation of the Spotswood Hotel as "this Stork Club executive mansion," and of Benjamin as "the Du Barry of the court at Richmond," the reiteration of the coined terms "Plantocracy" and "Unions" (antonym of Confederates), and the forced colloquialism of Kirby Smith's army being "as hot as a depot stove." At a more effective level are the statements that Beauregard was "acting out a personal grand opera," that Pinkerton had the "mind of a dime novelist," that Davis possessed "courage without audacity," that James M. Mason "was accustomed to his name meaning something where he lived, and he had lived nowhere else," or that Benjamin, "Attorney-general in a country without courts," was at least better off than Reagan, "Postmaster in a country without stamps."

The attention to these phrases is not intended to imply that the book lacks factual value; indeed it skillfully summarizes and integrates a great deal of monographic literature. But it does not purport to be an authoritative treatise, and should not be judged as such. It is not a history of the Confederacy, not even of the Confederate government, for Congress and courts are neglected; it is more an account of the Davis administration. It is not exhaustive in research, and the bibliography mentions not a single paper from any historical periodical, besides omitting a number of significant books. But if seasoned students of the Confederacy find few new facts, they will find many illuminating flashes of insight, and many will agree that no other treatment has excelled this one in explaining the psychology of Jefferson Davis and the reasons for his failure as leader of an "experiment in rebellion." Arch-conservative, he was temperamentally no revolutionary leader. Preoccupation with a romanticized feudal concept made him more conscious of adhering to the code than of getting results, so that if, in the end, all he saved was honor, it appears that that was all he really sought to defend.

Yale University

DAVID M. POTTER

BENJAMIN F. PERRY: SOUTH CAROLINA UNIONIST. By *Lillian Adele Kibler*. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1946. Pp. xiii, 562. \$5.00.)

BENJAMIN F. Perry is an attractive figure in South Carolina history and a biography of him is long overdue. This work by Miss Kibler, evidently a student of Professor Nevins, who writes an illuminating foreword, is based upon a wealth of manuscript materials such as few biographers enjoy. Perry was indefatigable with his pen and recorded nearly every episode of his life, and his reactions as well, in various forms. There are journals, autobiographies, character analyses of himself and others, reminiscences, letters, and newspaper clippings. Perry himself, followed by his family at different times, published much of the material, so that the story of his activities was well known to every student of South Carolina history. But Miss Kibler has not only done an excellent job of digesting all these and bringing them into a single account; she has exhausted the other available sources for South Carolina history and, with a few exceptions, she has used to good purpose the secondary material. The result is a careful, overly detailed, sometimes vivid account of Perry's public and private life. Here are the Nullification and Secession controversies, in all of which Perry was a leading Unionist and in the end almost the only avowed one. The story is told afresh from the point of view of the Unionists and Conservatives and the position of many of these is made clearer. In times of stress few had the courage of Perry. In 1865 therefore he seemed an obvious choice by President Johnson for provisional governor of South Carolina. He was then elected to the United States Senate, but was prevented by Radical Reconstruction from taking his seat. He continued to be active in political campaigns till his death in 1886.

The independence which characterized Perry came partly no doubt from his Puritan ancestry. The family had been in Massachusetts Bay since 1633, but the reverses of the American Revolution sent two of the brothers to Charleston, South Carolina, and from there to the extreme northwest corner of the state, then a frontier region. Here Benjamin F. Perry was born in 1805 and grew up with the country. One of the attractive features of Miss Kibler's book is the treatment of social conditions, especially in Greenville, the village that became his life-long home as a country lawyer who was to accumulate what he thought the best library in the state outside of Charleston. He became the spokesman of the region, so different from the low country, and as such championed the democratic reforms which would have brought South Carolina into line with the rest of the country—popular election of governor and of presidential electors, abolition of the parish system of representation, and of the property qualifications for office, public schools, diversification of industry, progressive agriculture, railroads—reforms which were consistently blocked by Calhoun and the low-country planters. But Greenville also became a summer resort for the latter so that Perry early met the leading men of the state at home as well as in the legislature where he served

almost continuously from 1836 through the Civil War. Here and as editor or contributor to the Greenville newspapers he played his singularly exciting role.

The author for the most part accepts Perry at his own valuation. She makes no attempt to solve the problem of his relations with Calhoun, who stood always in his way, yet whom he seldom attacked and sometimes supported. The treatment of some subjects, such as politics in the 1840's, the Bank fight, and judicial reforms, leaves much unexplained.

Perry has been particularly criticized by historians for his failure as provisional governor to realize the situation in 1865. The author admits that he seemed "oblivious of thought and opinion" in the North, but her conclusion that his administration was "truly statesmanlike" should be compared with that of Simkins and Woody that it was a "dismal failure." Perry's own satisfaction is to be explained by the fact that the constitution of 1865 contained the reforms for which he had struggled for thirty years; naturally it seemed the crowning triumph of his life.

As for the Negro, the author stresses the fact that Perry had put in the first draft of his message to the legislature the recommendation of an educational and property qualification for white and black alike—which Professor Nevins truly calls "a remarkable attitude for any Southerner in 1865"—but she says he was persuaded by friends against his better judgment to omit it. In view of Perry's independence and of the emphasis by historians upon his position as leader of the extreme right on this subject, it is a pity that the author does not analyze the evidence more fully, especially since the message did include a reference to the Dred Scott decision as settling the question of Negro rights; and the much discussed "Black Code" was to be described by him as "a perfect system of law adapted to our new state of affairs." For succeeding years also the evidence is similarly conflicting.

The index is satisfactory; there are helpful maps and interesting illustrations.

University of Wyoming

LAURA A. WHITE

SLAVE AND CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAS. By *Frank Tannenbaum*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. xi, 128, xi. \$2.00.)

WHILE the literature concerning the Negro is horrendous in its quantity—and, frequently, in its quality—there is precious little material presenting a comparative treatment of his position in North and South America. In tackling this task, even though very briefly, Professor Tannenbaum has performed a service, and it is, therefore, doubly unfortunate that the execution of this work is inferior to its concept.

Professor Tannenbaum sees a fundamental difference between Latin America and North America in that the former, only, held to "the doctrine of the moral personality of the slave." He feels this is of basic importance in explaining the

alleged fact that throughout the former area "the abolition of slavery was achieved in every case without violence."

That this concept of the Negro as a moral being was present in Latin America is demonstrated, for the author, by the fact of numerous manumissions, by the possibility and practice of emancipation through self-purchase, by the hiring to many slaves of their own time, and by the highly skilled occupations pursued by these Negroes, free and slave. All these practices, the reader is given to understand, either by inference or by explicit assertion, were absent in English America and in the United States.

Thus, the reader is told that in the United States emancipation by self-purchase "was seemingly nonexistent," that "the number of freedmen was infinitesimal," and that after the Civil War the Negro started "with nothing at all."

These assertions, so important to the book's thesis, are simply not in accord with the facts. The self-purchase of freedom was one of the important means for increasing the numbers of free Negroes in all slave states, the practice of slaves' hiring their own time was very common in the United States, as was the use of Negroes in skilled occupations of all kinds, and prior to the Civil War there were 500,000 free Negroes in the United States, hardly an "infinitesimal" figure, while one who asserts that the Negro in the United States "started after the Civil War with nothing at all" is guilty of making a much too sweeping statement and quite ignores the recent writing of scholars like Lorenzo Greene, John Franklin, and Luther Jackson.

Moreover, another assertion fundamental to the thesis, to the effect that in Latin America slavery was abolished everywhere without violence, is subject to serious question. Even ignoring the slave rebellions and guerrilla warfare that were such important characteristics of Negro slavery and that played so vital a part in the development of abolitionist movements, there still remains much to refute the author's general proposition. Thus, for example, the history of the abolition of slavery in Cuba is certainly one in which violence played a prominent part. Similarly, elsewhere in Latin America (aside, of course, from Haiti, an exception admitted by the writer himself), decrees for emancipation often came in the midst of revolutionary movements and wars for national liberation, as in Chile and Argentina. Qualitatively there is, indeed, an interesting parallel between these acts and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, a measure taken as a means of preserving the national existence.

Moreover, when Professor Tannenbaum declares that definitions and doctrines of law were basic influences determining great socio-historic movements he is begging the question. The task of the historian is not completed when he discovers prevalent definitions and doctrines: rather this marks a beginning of his job—*why* were these definitions and doctrines current?

In accordance with his idealistic bent the author concludes that "It is not specific evils that we must complain of—they are to be dealt with by the police

and public authorities," and that what is needed is the "establishing [of] the Negro in the sight of the white community as a human being equal to its own members," which "is a matter of time."

The specific evils are, however, manifestations of fundamental social maladjustments, of which the police and public authorities are guardians. And time is a dimension, it is not an agent, not a medium. It is only man's activities in time that will result in conceptual changes, and among the most important of these activities are those which combat "specific evils."

Brooklyn, New York

HERBERT APTHEKER

AMERICAN RADICALISM, 1865-1901: ESSAYS AND DOCUMENTS. By *Chester McArthur Destler*. [Connecticut College Monograph No. 3.] (New London: Connecticut College. 1946. Pp. xii, 276. Cloth \$3.50, paper \$2.50.)

WHILE these essays and documents are not all of a piece, there is an underlying intention to be noted in Dr. Destler's book. It is his aim to explore the characteristics of "American" radicalism, as presumably distinguished from "European," during the generation following the Civil War. The former he calls variously "Populist collectivism," "limited collectivism," "democratic collectivism," and the "agrarian conception of the democratic welfare state"; the latter is, of course, Socialism or "Communism-Anarchism."

In his concluding essay, Dr. Destler presents this dichotomy and, perhaps, indicates where his own sympathies lie:

To the Populists . . . collectivist methods were simply a legitimate means of restoring free enterprise and small, competitive capitalism. The Socialists, on the contrary, advocated collectivism for its own sake, as a means of overthrowing the free enterprise system and of establishing a completely different economic and social order. This was founded upon an alien, materialistic, proletarian philosophy entirely antagonistic to that of American craftsmen and farmers. Its alien character was symbolized by the foreign languages and slum *enclaves* of immigrant-perpetuated foreign culture in the rapidly growing cities of the Middle West.

This is too sharply drawn. America was no more isolated from the winds of European radical doctrine than it was from European thought generally; and just as Americans received Locke, Ricardo, and Spencer, they also received Owen, Fourier, Proudhon, Bakunin, and Marx. It is idle and unreal to claim that the first was American—and native to our culture—and the second European—and therefore alien. Indeed, Americans used the authority of both groups to serve the requirements at hand, sometimes with strange results. Ricardo, for example, was employed to support a banking and commercial capitalist class (rather than in the interest of industrial capitalists, as in England); and Proudhon emerged as the theoretician of producers' co-operatives (rather than as the philosopher of a co-operative commonwealth, as in France).

The fact is, in the post-Civil War period, American heterodoxy had many

strands and it is impossible to weave a single pattern out of them. There was Populism, of course, but this spoke only for an agrarian interest, whose radicalism was becoming so diluted that by 1896 its leaders were shelving government ownership of railroads and telegraphs and the subtreasury scheme. And—moving from right to left—there were the voluntarism of Samuel Gompers, gradualist Socialism, Lassalleanism, Marxian Socialism, philosophical Anarchism, and Anarcho-Syndicalism.

Henry D. Lloyd, Dr. Destler's hero, sought to combine the disparate causes of Populism and gradualist Socialism, and he failed; Dr. Destler attributes this to the unnatural alliance of "alien collectivism" and "American democratic radicalism." Here, obviously, the author is the victim of his own thesis and he is compelled to repudiate his own protagonist.

One must seek explanations for Lloyd's failure elsewhere. In the first place, Populism and Socialism (as Brandeis and LaFollette knew, and as Lloyd and his present-day counterpart, Henry A. Wallace, did not and do not understand) can never mix. In the second place, Lloyd's own interpretation of American development was a faulty one: monopoly capitalism had not yet appeared in his own day to dominate the American life. Hence, all efforts to preach the class struggle and class revolution were abortive ones. But when monopoly did really emerge—as it did in the first decade of the next century—then the Socialism of Debs and the Anarcho-Syndicalism of the I.W.W. spoke in an American tongue and struck responsive chords in the breasts of large numbers of native-born Americans.

Columbia University

LOUIS M. HACKER

EDWARD EGGLESTON, AUTHOR OF *THE HOOSIER SCHOOL-MASTER*. By William Peirce Randel. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1946. Pp. vi, 319. \$3.50.)

THE 1870's, that transitional period when the United States had turned its back upon old ways of living and was rushing rapidly to embrace a new materialism, saw the publication of two unusual books by an Indiana author. Edward Eggleston, confused and rebellious as the times in which he lived, published *The Hoosier School-Master* in 1871 and *The Circuit Rider* in 1873. Despite obvious defects, both volumes won immediate acclaim, although the story of the schoolmaster far outshone the tale of the preacher. By the 1880's, *The Hoosier School-Master* was a minor American classic.

Professor Randel says that the success of Eggleston's novel which first appeared serially in *Hearth and Home* lay in its "combination of rough characters, Hoosier dialect and swift action." He points out too, in his excellent biography which deserves far more attention than it has received, that Eggleston became a realist without benefit of literary influence and that—and this is important—

he always had viewed life without the glamour of romance. Such an approach, of course, aroused ire and approval in about equal parts. Mr. Randel is careful in this instance, as he is throughout his entire study, to take note of each and to balance one criticism against another. His volume is a model of judicious, objective research.

But fascinating as is the well-balanced, well-thought-out discussion of *The Hoosier School-Master*, the volume as a whole is much more significant, for here is the careful development and interpretation of an author in the light of his own limitations and his own regional roots. Beginning with Eggleston's Indiana boyhood, Mr. Randel carefully demonstrates the influence of the Minnesota years and goes on to chart the impact of the Civil War, years of lecturing in the East, and interest in "creedless church," English men of letters, and history. It is doubtful if the baffled Eggleston ever really comprehended the forces that exerted their influence upon him; indeed, it is uncertain if he ever quite knew what he was doing when he set pen to paper. Even his greatest success, *The Hoosier School-Master*, was largely accidental. By the close of his life, he was a discouraged, disillusioned man, maintaining that he wanted to "talk as a student to students, and not as that most commonplace thing—trodden under foot of men and asses—the American citizen." Yet, as the author points out, Eggleston influenced younger scholars who saw in his writing an excellent example of social history.

Perhaps the earlier chapters of this most competent biography—especially those devoted to St. Paul, Stillwater, and the beautiful St. Croix River—ring truer than those which interpret the East; perhaps one might wish for a fuller interpretation of the culture of Indiana; and perhaps one could desire a little more detailed analysis of the literary background against which Eggleston operated. But these are not serious criticisms and in no way reflect adversely upon a thoroughly trustworthy and finished biography that has long been due and that, in almost every instance, reflects sound scholarship, precise evaluation, and a literary style that is vastly superior to that found in most doctoral dissertations.

University of Minnesota

PHILIP D. JORDAN

THE PRESIDENTS AND THE PRESS. By *James E. Pollard*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. xiii, 866. \$5.00.)

SINCE I traded on both sides of the same counter in the second Cleveland administration—serving in its earlier years as the President's stenographer and personal secretary and in its later months as the Washington correspondent on the *Boston Transcript* and the *New York Evening Post*—I am moved to depart from the customary comprehensive survey of a book to utilize one chapter of it as an example of the scholarly accuracy with which its entire 860 pages have been written. In this I can do little more than amplify what the author has said, for he

has made exceedingly few errors there or elsewhere. He might have told us that the attitude of Mr. Cleveland toward the newspapers pervaded his entire cabinet. The older newspapermen of that period informed me when I joined their ranks that it was from Republican administrations that they received cordial treatment and generous access to news sources; Democratic administrations, these men thought, fought shy of the intrusions of the press. They had seen but one Democratic President—Mr. Cleveland in his first term—and they did not foresee the openhearted friendliness to the press destined to come to pass under Franklin Roosevelt and be continued by his Democratic successor.

No chapter in American history is more significant than this changed attitude. Take the "Press Conferences" as an example. Everybody has them now. Mrs. Roosevelt maintained them for the women journalists of Washington and talked nearly as freely as did her husband. No one can imagine Grover Cleveland subjecting himself to the give and take of haphazard inquiries from a miscellaneous body of newspapermen. He was unduly shy; he did not really trust himself to discuss questions with the rank and file of the journalistic clan. On page 526 of this book, its author, calling me by name, refers to the gratification which the President expressed in an interview published February 6, 1896, with the success of the public sale of government bonds. I had called on Mr. Thurber, the official private secretary, to ask him how the President felt in reference to the outcome of this bond sale. Mr. Thurber said, "Why don't you ask him yourself," and led me into his office. I asked him if I might quote what he had said. He assented. I did so and the interview, picked up by the Associated Press, went the rounds of the country. He never objected to it in the slightest, but some of my newspaper rivals, like Walter Wellman of Chicago, resented it bitterly, as a piece of favoritism. Mr. Thurber tried to soothe them by explaining how utterly informal it was. Secretary Carlisle was definitely pleased because the President had praised his part in the operation.

This book is an excellent piece of scholarly research. I did not realize that every detail of the President's relations with the press could be so methodically tracked down. The writer is not absolutely accurate in his account of the publicity attending the sarcoma operation in the summer of 1893, but substantially so. I was at Buzzard's Bay with Mr. Cleveland and realized that if the newspaper representatives ever got inside the house, scenting the hospital atmosphere and perhaps the pallid appearance of the patient, all the secrecy would be over. But Colonel Daniel S. Lamont managed it with consummate skill. All the reporters who had been hurried there following the leak by E. J. Edwards ("Holland" of the *Philadelphia Press*, derived from an anesthetist, as he afterwards told me), to the old barn several hundred feet from the house and explained to them the dread the President had of dentistry and how he had neglected things until a comprehensive job was necessary; and this had been done on the *Oneida*. The reporters were reluctant to believe this. But Colonel Lamont had reared a bul-

wark behind his story in the supporting evidence of L. Clarke Davis of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, who really knew only what Lamont had told him, and the preference of the Associated Press to maintain undisturbed the existing business order. For Adlai E. Stevenson, Vice-President of the United States, was suspected of sympathy with the silver cause (afterwards its vice-presidential candidate) and had the report broken that only Mr. Cleveland's precarious life stood between Stevenson and the presidency, the already depressed business condition would have turned into serious panic. The secret was kept. Not until one of the surgeons told the story, after Mr. Cleveland's death in 1908, did the world know what had happened.

Washington, D. C.

ROBERT LINCOLN O'BRIEN

NEW JERSEY PROGRESSIVISM BEFORE WILSON. By *Ransom E. Noble, jr.*
(Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. ix, 175. \$2.00.)

THE Progressive movement won its first striking successes in the agricultural states of the Middle West. From there it fanned out toward the more populous coastal sections of the country until in 1910 it won important political victories in both industrial New Jersey and urban California. In this excellent little work, partially based upon a doctoral dissertation, the author traces the origins and the development of the early movement in New Jersey and also attempts to explain the political background of Woodrow Wilson's achievements as governor. The book is a particularly valuable addition to the growing literature of the Progressive movement since it is the first to deal with a heavy industrialized eastern state, one so dominated by corporations that it was long called "the home of trusts."

Apparently the author feels that New Jersey Progressivism was largely a home-inspired and home-grown product arising out of opposition to corporate political control and the rewards of that control expressed in favorable franchises for public utilities and extremely lenient tax rates for railroads and other industries. The movement was centered in the northern urban areas of the state and clustered around four or five leaders. Mr. Noble, in fact, hinges much of his story around the activities of Mark M. Fagan, George L. Record, Alden Freeman, and Everett Colby. All of these men were at the time regular Republicans, all were successful, and three wealthy. The three who contributed most to Progressivism, according to the author, were pushed into rebellion by opposition to their further political ambitions by regular politicians who considered them "unsafe."

The author very clearly points up the fact that Progressivism in New Jersey was a middle-class movement, as it was elsewhere in the nation. At its inception the New Idea program was totally innocent of labor reforms. Later the adherents of the New Idea co-operated with Progressive Democrats and organized labor to secure moderate protective legislation. But from the more radical measures of

the left the New Jersey Progressives shied away. Their ends were middle-class ends, their sense of social justice limited by middle-class morality. Looking back, the author partially agrees with George L. Record's summary of the movement in 1932 that its history would have to be written from the point of view of its failures and not in terms of its accomplishments.

This is a careful work of scholarship, clearly if not inspiringly written. But it also leaves many questions about New Jersey Progressivism unanswered. One would like to know more, for example, about the relations of New Jersey Progressivism with both antecedent American liberalism and the national Progressive movement. Mr. Noble does bring out the influence of Henry George upon the thinking of George L. Record. But beyond this he confines himself largely to post-1900 New Jersey materials and men, and those from the three urban counties of Hudson, Essex, and Passaic. A comparative analysis of the movement in New Jersey with those in the more agrarian states to the west might have been of great value. A more intensive study of agricultural New Jersey might have in itself emphasized the divergent character of the national movement between farm and city, between an older and a newer liberalism.

Unfortunately Professor Noble was unable to find and use any important collections of personal manuscripts. He was therefore greatly handicapped in attempting to weigh the forces motivating the rebellion of the Progressive leaders and their followers. To say that Record, Colby, and others turned Progressive because their political careers were thwarted by regulars who considered them "unsafe" is not enough of an answer to the basic and difficult question of what caused the Progressive movement. The question remains: why did these successful men suddenly develop a conscience and become unsafe? The author misses the air of moral indignation and religious zeal that pervaded the movement everywhere. Until the riddle of why these and thousands of prosperous men all over the nation hit the political sawdust trail is answered, the roots of Progressivism will still remain indistinct. Since these answers can best be found in state and local studies, it is to be hoped that the author, who has made such an excellent start, will continue his profitable inquiry.

Mills College

GEORGE E. MOWRY

MEXICAN EMPIRE: THE HISTORY OF MAXIMILIAN AND CARLOTA OF MEXICO. By *H. Montgomery Hyde*. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1946. Pp. ix, 349. \$5.00.)

THIS highly readable account of a fantastic episode in history won for its author a prize of £100 in the series of awards offered by Macmillan (London) to members of the forces of the British Empire under thirty-five for the celebration in 1943 of the centenary of this noted publishing house. Twenty-two excellent

illustrations augment the value of the text. The end papers include a map of Mexico and a plan of the city of Querétaro.

Colonel Hyde's treatment is the reverse of his title: it is primarily concerned with the lives of Maximilian and Carlota and, secondarily, with the Mexican Empire. The first five of the total of ten chapters trace Maximilian's family background (not discounted are the circumstances indicating that he was actually the son of the duke of Reichstadt and, therefore, a first cousin of Napoleon III), his boyhood, travels, marriage to Carlota, journey to Brazil, and acceptance of the imperial crown of Mexico. The succeeding four chapters, less than half of the book, are devoted to the attempted establishment of a French-dominated empire in Mexico. Repeated in these four chapters are the well-known facts regarding Maximilian's endeavor to include liberal elements in his government despite the fact that his support was derived from reactionary forces; how, in this process he was bitterly opposed from within by high church and political leaders and from without by the republican ranks of Juárez, encouraged and supported by the United States; and how, finally, when Maximilian was deserted by the French, he capitulated to the sentimental appeal of Carlota and to the evil machinations of worthless advisers and continued in his foolhardy enterprise. In the final chapter is related the dismal, tragic failure of this projected imperial government in America climaxed by the execution of the Austrian archduke and followed by the fifty-year madness of Carlota from which death released her in 1927.

This is probably the most interesting of the serious treatments in English of Maximilian and the Mexican Empire. Its chief value to the scholar is the exhaustive listing of sources with explanatory notes. The author explains that his investigation of these sources was begun in 1936 in Vienna (Austrian state archives), was continued in 1942 and 1943 in Mexico (national archives and archives of the ministry of foreign affairs), was supplemented by research in the United States and England, and was concluded in 1945 in Austria and Italy. There is no evidence that use was made in Mexico of materials essential for the history of the Mexican Empire such as the *Papeles del Imperio* in the national archives; hence the investigation and presentation of this subject remain to be done.

Rollins College

A. J. HANNA

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

A GUIDE TO HISTORICAL METHOD. By *Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J.*, Late Research Professor of History, Loyola University, Chicago. Edited by *Jean Delanglez, S.J.*, Research Professor of History, Loyola University, Chicago. (New York, Fordham University Press, 1946, pp. xv, 482, \$4.50.) Father Garraghan's work is perhaps the most comprehensive treatise on historical method that has been attempted in the English language. His erudition is evident and the scope of his research is impressive. Some of his discussions are unusually good, one of the best being chapter xviii, on "Making the Presentation Effective." The volume as a whole can be read by seasoned historians with interest and benefit. For beginners a simpler and more carefully organized primer is desirable. Many critical historians will think that the present treatise errs on the side of leniency. They will think, for example, that the author is overready to accept without corroboration the statements of honest and observant eyewitnesses (pp. 283, 287 ff.) without due allowance for the possibility of error. They will think that he should have clarified his discussion of the credibility of traditions, where he seems to hold that archaeological confirmation of some has enhanced the acceptability of all without like corroboration in every case. They will sanction doubtfully, if at all, his treatment of miracles. Here, while warning that accounts of miraculous occurrences should not be accepted without proof (p. 296), and while admitting that without "the doctrine of causation" (presumably the law of the uniformity of nature), in history as elsewhere, one gets nowhere (p. 351), he nevertheless maintains that the historicity of some miracles can be established "by precisely the same means by which we recognize any other historical fact" (p. 299). These means, however, go beyond the premise of nature's uniformity to include theological assumptions. "The Christian philosophy of history" is, indeed, for Father Garraghan, an indispensable basis of historical method (p. 379). This view receives much emphasis. Father Garraghan recognizes that a limited personal philosophy is adequate for writing, say, a history of the free silver campaign of 1896 (p. 371), but insists that in the ultimate sense history finds meaning only through the acceptance of "data supplied . . . by divine revelation." Most historians will probably continue to be content with the "rationalistic" method, assuming, like the natural scientist, the uniformity of nature and accepting the limitations of the assumption. The method is agnostic only in that it employs a philosophy, or hypothesis, consistent with this assumption. The assumption does not imply the rejection of theism as a matter of personal faith, but only that historians are not provided with tools adequate for dealing with ultimates.

HOMER C. HOCKETT

ATLAS OF WORLD AFFAIRS. By *Clifford H. MacFadden, Henry Madison Kendall, George F. Deasy*. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1946, pp. 179, \$2.75.) Among the more than a hundred maps included in this volume will be found most of the topical coverage required by a student of international affairs. Included are maps depicting the physical relief of the lands, density of population, the economic resources, ethnic areas in relation to state boundaries, boundaries of states in the past, air-line distances, on land and sea, and battle-front lines of the second World War. With each map, or pair of maps, is a page of additional, in some cases interpretative, material. The presentation of such a variety of material requires a great amount of cartographic skill. The advances in cartography in the last ten years have markedly increased the possibility of presenting legibly complicated detail on a map with one or two colors. If the maps

are to be reliable the material must either be presented in full detail and accurately, or it must be simplified and generalized by geographers thoroughly conversant with the factual materials and their significance. Finally, the interpretation, in such brief textual form, of the material depicted on the maps requires a highly competent knowledge of the economic and political geography, and the historical backgrounds, of many parts of the world. Far from demonstrating the improved techniques in cartographic presentation developed in Washington during the war, the maps in this atlas are much below the standards now required in geography or history texts. Even the simple maps are difficult to read; the more complicated ones almost impossible, because of the lack of value and pattern contrasts. The general monotony of line width relationships further detracts from clarity. The choice of projections (never named) shows little imagination and in some cases seems curiously fortuitous. Coloring and reproduction are likewise mediocre. Where the maps are generalized—as in the marking of “major mineral regions,” the results are significantly misleading. More commonly all the details are shown, regardless of relative importance, in bewildering complexity, and yet at the same time with notable inaccuracies. (A score of significant errors were found in a very hasty examination.) The textual material reveals a large number of errors of fact and dubious generalizations in economic geography. It is as though the writing had been done on the basis of memory from earlier training, augmented by information secured from newspaper reading, and without benefit of checking with statistical or scholarly sources. The interpretation of European international politics is particularly ill-informed and superficial. The dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, the creation of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the re-creation of Poland, and even the continuance of Denmark, Netherlands, and Switzerland, all apparently result simply from the planning of statesmen of the Great Powers, gathered at conferences dominated by the dogma of “buffer” states. The treatment of strategy in the recent war is confined largely to the major land campaigns. The discussion of the North Atlantic Basin focuses on air routes, without mention of the problem of shipping. A number of the maps are little more than redrawings of maps taken from other sources. No references or acknowledgments, however, are given, even in cases where the direct sources were government publications which gave precise references to the original sources.

RICHARD HARTSHORNE

SCHOLARSHIP: ITS MEANING AND VALUE. By *H. W. Garrod*. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1946, pp. 79, \$1.00.) In a lecture given during the turmoil of the first World War, Professor Gilbert Murray based his faith in the *Religio Grammatici* on the following foundation: “Western civilization, especially the soul of it as distinguished from its accidental manifestations, is after all a unity and not a chaos; and it is a unity chiefly because of its ancestry, a unity of descent and of brotherhood.” To Murray it was the task of the scholar to keep alive the spirit of “the *Traditio*, the handing down of the intellectual acquisitions of the human race from one generation to another.” Professor H. W. Garrod, in his three Gray Lectures delivered in Cambridge in 1946, does not differ from Murray in his evaluation of the historical meaning of “the kind of learning . . . which is familiarly and naturally called in this country scholarship (and in other countries philology).” He sees it as “the invention of the Renaissance,” of men who were “more truly scholars than any who preceded them in that they were more profoundly conscious of that broken unity of the human spirit the sense of which is a distinguishing character of scholarship” (pp. 19 f.). From this point of view Mr. Garrod sketches in a highly stimulating fashion the importance of some of the great humanists, like Poggio, “the founder of modern scholarship” (p. 23), Valla, Politian, Erasmus, “the most undeciding of men”

(p. 39; a characterization which this reviewer would like to question), and the younger Scaliger, "the last great name" in the history of the rebirth of letters (p. 13). Mr. Garrod leaves no doubt as to his deep appreciation of the work and achievements of those representatives of Latin and Greek scholarship. To him they were the men "who gave to the world the conception of universal history, and the ideal of the unity of learning . . . , who carried liberty of thought into the sphere of religion, . . . and who first brought into study the spirit of science" (pp. 48 f.). But when it comes to an appraisal of the meaning and value of scholarship in the world of today, Mr. Garrod has to ask many questions which he himself finds "disquieting." He is not satisfied by the answer which A. E. Housman gave in his "Introductory Lecture" of 1892; for the theme of that famous lecture seems to him to be simply that "any kind of learning is as good as another" (pp. 52 f.). Likewise Mr. Garrod sees himself compelled to refute a number of other arguments set forth in defense of the study of the ancients. Some of these views, especially his depreciation of the Attic writers, prose and verse, of the fifth century, as "the worst parts of Greek literature" (p. 68), will undoubtedly be considered very provocative, or even "heretical," by the more traditional classicists. This whole second part of Mr. Garrod's little book purposely raises rather than answers questions and is, therefore, quite "inconclusive," as he himself states it (p. 54). But the scholar who "for three-and-twenty years taught classics" at Oxford (p. 56), does not mean to end in a seemingly annihilative vein. Thus he concludes: "Scholarship, Greek scholarship, Latin scholarship, any scholarship, fulfills its function to-day as in the past in proportion as it is a tutelary of things spiritual." THEODOR E. MOMMSEN

ULRICH'S PERIODICALS DIRECTORY: A CLASSIFIED GUIDE TO A SELECTIVE LIST OF CURRENT PERIODICALS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC. Fifth edition (postwar). Edited by *Carolyn F. Ulrich*. (New York, R. R. Bowker, 1947, pp. 399, \$15.00.)

UNESCO: ITS PURPOSE AND ITS PHILOSOPHY. By *Julian Huxley*. (Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1947, pp. 62, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.00.)

THE PATH OF SCIENCE. By *C. E. Kenneth Mees*, Vice President in charge of Research, Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, New York, with the co-operation of *John R. Baker*, Lecturer in Zoology in the University of Oxford, England. (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1946, pp. xii, 250, \$3.00.) The author of this book has distinguished himself by investigations in the very practical but also very difficult field of photographic chemistry. However, Dr. Mees is more than a chemist and director of an important industrial research laboratory. He is also a serious student of the social implications of science. Thus, when he was invited to deliver the Hitchcock lectures at the University of California in 1943, he decided to present the results of his experience and thinking on the place of science in modern society. For the development of his thesis he chose the historical approach. Dr. Mees begins his book with an all too brief chapter on the interpretation of history in which he points out a few of the many attempts which have been made by historians to find some unifying principle which might explain the course of human development. In chapter two the author develops a cyclical theory (modified from Petrie) in which the course of history may be pictured as a helix the vertical component of which is provided by the advancement of science. After a provocative chapter on the method of science, followed by one on the development of the scientific method, the author goes on to illustrate with examples from the history of physics and chemistry. These chapters are followed by one on the growth of biological ideas written by Dr. John R. Baker, lecturer in zoology at Oxford.

Having thus sketched in very broad outline the general development of science Dr. Mees takes up the controversial question of whether or not it is possible to plan and direct the production of scientific knowledge. The author concludes that while the applications of science may be directed, the course of fundamental research cannot be charted in advance. Finally Dr. Mees provides an illuminating chapter on the organization of research in industry. Space does not permit the critical and detailed analysis which this book obviously deserves. However, appearing as it does on the eve of renewed discussion of a National Science Foundation, *The Path of Science* will provide a provocative basis for discussion. The author has provided not merely food for thought but fuel for a fire.

MORRIS C. LEIKIND

EUROPEAN POPULATION TRANSFERS, 1939-1945. By *Joseph P. Schechtman*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. xi, 532, \$5.00.) The physical uprooting of many millions of Europeans in recent years has been the subject of constant reference in the press, but little has been written on the matter with scholarly thoroughness and objectivity. The movements up to the middle of the war were ably summarized by Eugene Kulischer in his *The Displacement of Population in Europe* (Montreal, 1943). The present work, by a close associate of Mr. Kulischer in the war years, completes the record for the war period as regards one phase of population movements. Schechtman's book is concerned with the planned resettlement of ethnic minorities in the brief period of German hegemony in eastern Europe during the recent war. Most of the volume is devoted to the reshuffling of populations instituted by the Germans in implementing their policy of establishing "racially" homogeneous states, and especially to the planned "repatriation" of scattered German colonies in the east. The term "population transfers" as used by Schechtman does not include spontaneous refugee movements and labor drafts; it relates only to resettlement movements sponsored by the governments concerned and particularly to those arranged by international agreement. Following a brief preliminary discussion of the minorities problem between the wars, Schechtman gives a detailed account of the specific transfers of German minorities, a chapter being devoted to each of these movements. This discussion leads to a consideration of the German resettlement program (chiefly in western Poland) and to the vicissitudes of this colonization policy resulting from war conditions and the resistance of the Polish inhabitants. A fourth, and much briefer, section reviews the transfers of non-German minorities in eastern Europe, conspicuously omitting the movements of the Jewish populations. A final chapter evaluates population transfers as a method of resolving minority problems. The factual and descriptive parts of the book are admirably done. The author displays a thorough knowledge of his materials and excellent critical judgment in the use of diverse and fugitive sources. In view of the necessity of using unreliable and especially newspaper accounts in the preparation of the book, the study cannot be regarded as a completely definitive treatment of the subject. But, considering the materials available at the time of writing, Schechtman has done a thoroughly competent job. Since the specific Nazi plans of resettlement did not survive the German defeat, much of the interest of the book attaches to the more general problem of population transfers as a solution of minority questions. There can be little doubt that the population transfers effected by the Germans during the war liquidated the problems presented by a number of Europe's more troublesome minorities. Schechtman, in his final chapter, finds such transfers a useful, if drastic, solution to minority problems. He concludes that the scalpel rather than salve may often be the only cure for the festering sore of ethnic conflict within the state. Some readers may question the accuracy of the diagnosis and the ultimate effectiveness of the treatment; others may feel that Schechtman underestimates the

dangers of unbridled use of population transfers as an instrument of aggression and source of human misery. But regardless of the conclusions drawn, Schechtman has provided a valuable account of the transfers actually carried out in the war years.

DUDLEY KIRK

HISTOIRE DES NOIRS D'AFRIQUE. Par *Henri Labouret*, Ancien Directeur de l'Institut International des Langues et Civilisations africaines. ["Que sais-je?" 241.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1946, pp. 127.)

THE ETHNOGEOGRAPHIC BOARD. By *Wendell Clark Bennett*. [Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Volume 107, Number 1.] (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1947, pp. viii, 135.) This is the record of one of the most successful and helpful war activities by co-operating scholars. It is in addition a revelation of how scattered bits of information were pieced together to support the war effort in far-flung and little-known regions.

INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES PARTICIPATES. [Department of State Publication 2699.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1946, pp. vi, 322, 65 cents.)

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Ancient History¹

T. Robert S. Broughton

ASPECTS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD: ESSAYS AND REVIEWS. By *Victor Ehrenberg*, Lecturer in Ancient History at Bedford College, University of London, formerly Professor of Ancient History at Prague University. (New York, William Salloch, 1946, pp. ix, 256, \$4.50.) We have in this book a collection of essays and reviews most of which have been published before, many of them in journals not well known in America. The nature of the work is such that the subjects treated range from the early history of the Etruscans to the constitutional history of the Roman Empire and from Greek geography to the life of Eduard Meyer. One can do no more in a short review than point to certain interesting positions and arguments set forth in some of these papers. The biography of Meyer which was published in *Historische*

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

Zeitschrift is probably known to many scholars in this country. It is a good piece of work and shows full appreciation of Meyer's astounding achievement. It is pointed out that Meyer was intensively positivistic in his historical methodology and that he tended to neglect the importance of nonrational elements. To some extent one will recognize this criticism as sound, of course, but it is not very reassuring to find the author in the essay on the beginnings of European history making reference to the creative power of the Greeks as if this power were some innate racial characteristic. It is disturbing also that he contends that the Mycenaean Greeks were dragged into the larger conflicts of universal history by fate and then later writes that "the Greeks slowly became what fate had destined them to be." The point of view expressed here is very unlike that of Meyer. It seems quite close to that of Polybius. There are many good things in the book. The chapter on "The Greek Country and the Greek State" is very good and was published formerly in *Die Antike*, which is not generally available. There is an index.

THOMAS A. BRADY

POST-ARISTOPHANIC COMEDY: STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL OUTLOOK OF MIDDLE AND NEW COMEDY AT BOTH ATHENS AND ROME. By *Paul Shaner Dunkin*. [Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XXXI, Nos. 3-4.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1946, pp. 192, cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.50.)

L'EGYPTE ANCIENNE. Par *Jean Vercoutter*. ["Que sais-je?" 247.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1947, pp. 136.)

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- M. AVI-YONAH. Early Christian Inscriptions from Rihāb. *Quar. Dept. Antiq. Palestine*, XIII, nos. 1, 2.
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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

ESSAI SUR LES FIEFS-RENTES. By *Michel Sczaniecki*. [De la Bibliothèque d'histoire du droit, publiée sous les auspices de la Société d'histoire du droit, no. 6.] (Paris, Recueil Sirey, 1946, pp. 184.) To provide readers of the *American Historical Review* with even a brief notice of this book is doubly pleasurable: because it is the first volume of the series to be published since 1933, and because it is so good a piece of work. M. Sczaniecki has nicely defined and logically developed a subject of considerable interest to all students of feudal society and institutions. His writing is clear and concise; his documentation both scholarly and well balanced. It is not the author's fault that *fief-rente* can hardly be translated into English. "Money-fief," the established usage, is inaccurate; for the French term connotes payment in kind as well as in cash. "Annuity-fief," though clumsy, better expresses the meaning. The *fief-rente* differed from the ordinary fief in that it was not a grant of land but a form of annuity; from the ordinary *rente* in that it was truly a fief, held of a lord by his vassal and implying mutual obligations. All this is made plain by M. Sczaniecki who, while concentrating on the institutions of medieval France, reveals a sound knowledge of what has been written about related institutions in England, Germany, Syria, and other countries. The *fief-rente*, the author concludes, was relatively unimportant in western Europe during the great age of feudalism, being chiefly used then to reward domestic knights and lesser officers of the household. Later, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it became increasingly prominent as ruling princes found in it a means of extending their personal influence. This change obviously resulted from the contemporary development of money economy, but was only one of such results. In particular, we are reminded, the *fief-rente* should not be confused with payment of wages to mercenary troops; the former was essentially a political, not a military, device. For the many other significant observations made by M. Sczaniecki the reader must be referred to the book itself.

CARL STEPHENSON

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH AND THE LATE LATIN CHRONICLERS, 1300-1500. By *Laura Keeler*, Professor of English, San Francisco College for Women. [University of California Publications in English, Volume 17, No. 1.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1946, pp. viii, 152, \$1.75.) Geoffrey's fabulous *Historia* has long been famous, in Gross's apt words, as the "fountain-head of medieval romance." This scholarly little treatise undertakes a "systematic and intensive investigation" of the use of Geoffrey's work made by the Anglo-Latin chroniclers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (over thirty in number), and "the credence they gave it." It supplements the standard work of R. H. Fletcher (*The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, 1906) in that it covers a narrower field intensively, and includes additional findings. Instead of chronological treatment (for there proved to be no progressive "falling off in the use of the HRB as a credible historical narrative"), chroniclers are classified according to degree of credulity, which, with their objectives, determines the extent of their use. HRB material is not only "spotted," but precisely evaluated as to whether a given chronicler has borrowed *in toto*, cut, modified, or even embellished, to suit his needs. The study is thus concerned with that fictitious material which the

historian rejects: "what was chaff in the field to them has been grist for my mill." Yet to the historian, not too familiar with Geoffrey's Arthur, Miss Keeler's work will appeal as a study in historiography and medieval psychology. She introduces us, for instance, to the monk of Malmesbury with the "confidential manner of the familiar essayist and a sense of humour akin to Lamb's"; to Adam of Usk, "experienced priest, lawyer, and traveller," whose work "approaches a modern volume of reminiscences"; and to the recurring distinction of the St. Albans chroniclers, including John of Whethamstede, one of those (two only) who are fully conscious of the fictitious character of the *Historia*, who dedicated his work to Humphrey duke of Gloucester, patron of Renaissance learning, and constant visitor at the abbey. Occasionally conjectural, but usually convincing is the assessment of motives, especially of those who draw on Geoffrey for a particular purpose: praise of an Edward I, Henry V, or Henry VII, the antiquity of a university, the glory of London, the basis for English claims to sovereignty over Ireland and Scotland, the fulfillment or frustration of Geoffrey's (Merlin's!) political prophecies such as the "Briton hope."

FAITH THOMPSON

NEOPLATONISM AND THE ETHICS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. Volume I, PLOTINUS AND THE ETHICS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. By *Bruno Switalski*. (New York, Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1946, pp. 113.) Originally published in Polish at Warsaw in 1938, this volume will be useful for its "almost exhaustive" bibliography on Plotinus. A second volume is to deal with Porphyry and St. Augustine.

RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA (345-411), HIS LIFE AND WORKS. By *Francis X. Murphy*. [Catholic University of America Studies in Mediaeval History, New Series, Vol. VI.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1945, pp. xviii, 248.) As church historian, ascetic, and translator of Origen for the West, Rufinus has long merited being studied for his own sake, but rested under a cloud because of the unhappy imbroglio with his former bosom friend, the sharp-tempered Jerome. The author of this dissertation takes his cue from F. Cavallera, biographer of Jerome, and endeavors to restore the balance.

SINODI GENOVESI ANTICHI [1097-1400]. By *Can. Domenico Cambiaso*. [Atti della regia deputazione di storia patria per la Liguria, nuova serie, vol. IV, fasc. 1.] (Genoa, 1939, pp. 94.) NUOVI DOCUMENTI SUL CASTELLO DI BONIFACIO NEL SECOLO XIII [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, fasc. 2.] (Genoa, 1940, pp. 67.)

COMMENTARIUS CANTABRIGIENSIS IN EPISTOLAS PAULI E SCHOLA PETRI ABAELARDI: 4. IN EPISTOLAM AD HEBRAEOS. By *Artur Landgraf*. [Publications in Mediaeval Studies, University of Notre Dame, Vol. II, Pt. 4.] (Notre Dame, Ind., 1945, pp. 653-864.) THE *SUMMULAE LOGICALES* OF PETER OF SPAIN. By *Joseph Patrick Mullally*. [*Ibid.*, Vol. VIII.] (Notre Dame, Ind., 1945, pp. civ, 172.)

THE MEDIEVAL PROVINCE OF ARMAGH, 1470-1545. By *Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*, Lecturer in History, University College, Dublin. (Dundalk, W. Tempest, Dundalgan Press, 1946, pp. xi, 287, 21s. 10d.)

THE CASE OF SANCHE DE ALMAZÁN AND JUAN DE LA CÁMARA VERSUS THE CROWN OF CASTILE AND THE TOWN COUNCIL OF ARENAS (1514). By *Caroline B. Bourland*, Professor Emeritus of Spanish, Smith College. [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XXIX.] (Northampton, Smith College, 1947, pp. 27.)

MELANCHTHON: ALIEN OR ALLY? By *Franz Hildebrandt*, Pastor and Lecturer in Cambridge. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1946, pp. xxvii, 98, \$2.50.) The question in the title is asked with reference to the relations of Melanchthon and Luther, but the author is interested much less in a biographical than in a theological problem. The real question is the degree to which humanism and the Reformation are compatible. As an exile from the Third Reich, enjoying the *Humanitas* of Cambridge University, the author was driven to reflect on the differing spirits of the Anglican Reformation, infused with the Erasmian tradition, and the German, stemming from Luther. The book might almost as well have been a comparison of the reformations in the two countries or of Erasmus and Luther, but in that case the differences rather than the affinities would have been emphasized. The tensions which rend all of us who are the heirs of both movements are more acutely portrayed if the comparison be made between Luther and Melanchthon, who to the end maintained an uneasy collaboration. The first section of the book compares their respective attitudes to nature, reason, law, to Aristotle, and to Cicero. Here it seems to me the very real differences are exaggerated, because of inadequate acquaintance with Luther, who was by no means so hostile to natural morality and reason as is commonly supposed. When he railed against the harlot reason he had no mind to commit the whole of life to the irrational. His point was twofold: First that syllogistic reasoning from human premises cannot invalidate divine revelation. Here he was an Occamist. The other point rested upon a different definition of reason. It is plain common sense which simply does not grasp why God the Almighty should stoop to assume our flesh and to die upon a cross. None of this would Melanchthon deny but he was more of a rationalist in the sense that he was much more concerned to reduce theological truths to an orderly system and much more confident that the task could be accomplished, because he had so much less feeling for the incomprehensibility of the majesty of God. The differences were real and bore fruit in the practical sphere. Melanchthon was ever ready to temper his Protestant confessions with Catholic concessions, because the Catholic church has less cleavage than Luther between reason and revelation, nature and grace. More marked and more significant is the greater readiness of Melanchthon to look upon the state as the direct instrument of God not only for the defense but even for the establishment of true religion. Luther roundly defended the state in its own sphere as the custodian of civil justice but he was exceedingly loath to suffer any force on behalf of the Gospel which must triumph only by suffering. Melanchthon it was who led the way toward regarding the magistrate as "the chiefest church member" and even as the *summus episcopus*. Melanchthon drafted the memorandum which Luther was induced to sign condoning the death penalty even for nonseditious Anabaptists, and Melanchthon it was who first condoned armed resistance to the emperor. In other words, Melanchthon the humanist fathered those tendencies in Lutheranism which ended in subservience to the totalitarian state. This startling conclusion invites reflection. If the humanist element in Lutheranism made for acquiescence to state dominance, why did the English Reformation, so humanist in character, develop in quite a different direction? I would suggest that the explanation is to be found in the Puritan movement, when a sectarianism partly Calvinist and partly Anabaptist became entrenched in English life. The tragedy of Germany was the suppression of the Anabaptists in the sixteenth century. This is a theme not touched upon in this book. Despite such omissions the work offers a highly illuminating and suggestive treatment.

ROLAND H. BANTON

THE CONCEPT OF INGRATITUDE IN RENAISSANCE ENGLISH MORAL PHILOSOPHY. By *E. Catherine Dunn*. (Washington, Catholic University of Amer-

ica Press, 1946, pp. xvi, 133.) "The gravity of ingratitude in Renaissance moral philosophy is . . . the central problem of the present study; this problem serves as the focal point of an investigation into the nature of ingratitude, as this age viewed it, and into the historical origins of the Renaissance concepts in the moral philosophies of former ages. . . . The pattern of my work has been determined by the evidence gathered from sixteenth and seventeenth century treatises and by the indications of historical origin suggested in these treatises. My approach is through the Renaissance to the Middle Ages and classical antiquity, and not *vice versa*" (p. xv).

ATTITUDES OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FRANCE TOWARD THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Nathan Edelman*. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1946, pp. xv, 459, \$4.00.) This is an excellent analysis of the extensive knowledge of and interest in the Middle Ages of which there is evidence in French literature of the seventeenth century. The author has made an exhaustive study and writes of his findings in clear and interesting style. The encyclopedic scope of his research makes his book a valuable reference tool. As a defense of the idea of the survival of knowledge of the Middle Ages in the seventeenth century, the work is unassailable. It is fortified with an arsenal of weapons at the mere sight of which an opponent would pale. It must be said, however, that the need for defense seems somewhat exaggerated. The reader, as he views the collection, wonders how anyone could have supposed that the Middle Ages had been neglected, especially since the writers quoted are all well known, and there is no claim of discovery of new evidence. Yet the writer says, in his conclusion, "We did not ask at the outset: were they clever enough then to anticipate our views on the Middle Ages? We merely asked: was any survival of the Middle Ages possible at that time?" As evidence that his question required formulation, the author quotes only one nineteenth century writer as a conspicuous example: "Léon Gautier . . . speaking of the sixteenth century, states that in the seventeenth, '*on était séparé du moyen âge par une distance plus longue. On l'ignorait davantage: disons le mot, on l'ignorait absolument.*' (*La chanson de Roland*, p. cxlix-cl.)" (p. xiv, n. 3). The medievalist, whose debt to DuCange and Mabillon can never be ignored, is not surprised at Mr. Edelman's findings but rather at Léon Gautier and the supposedly "conventional account."

DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN

DECRETA SEPTEM PRIORUM SESSIONUM CONCILII TRIDENTINI SUB PAULO III PONT. MAX. Ex autographo Angeli Massarelli (codice Morganiano ms. A.225A Neo-Eboracensi) hic phototypice recuso edidit, adnotavit, prolegomenis instruxit Stephanus Kuttner, praefatus est Sac. Hieronymus D. Hannan. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1945, pp. xliii, 48, \$5.00.) A deluxe volume published to commemorate the Catholic Council of Trent (1545-47) as it met under Pope Paul III.

GENERAL, INSTITUTIONAL, AND POLITICAL

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Francis H. Herrick

- THE PARISH CHEST: A STUDY OF THE RECORDS OF PAROCHIAL ADMINISTRATION IN ENGLAND. By *W. E. Tate*. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1946, pp. x, 346, \$4.75.) The parish chest is used as a symbol of the records of the parish since too frequently the records do not appear in the proper place. These records, like the parish itself, are both ecclesiastical (registers, church wardens' accounts, tithe records, charity counts, etc.) and civil (vestry minutes, petty constable accounts, poor-law, highway maintenance, and enclosure data, etc.). Mr. Tate's book, designed to help the parish historian to discover and interpret the principal classes of records available for his use, is doubtless a success for a scholar well grounded in the sequence of English history. The happy chaos in the time element may well leave the uninitiated in a chronological fog. For purposes of reference the work is excellent, giving a clear picture of the parish, its chests and the purposes of the several types of records. The many illuminating and interesting extracts enliven the account and provide amusing *exempla* for the student of English social history. Such a mass of information produces an impression of the characteristics of local government and its administrators. Devotion to duty, careful husbandry of income, and long experience in governing produced an earnest but amateur class of local officials who "muddled along" with no apparent interest in long-term planning or in relating their local problems to the national economy.
 J. C. RUSSELL

- A HAND-LIST OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE ENCLOSURE ACTS AND AWARDS. By *W. E. Tate*. (Aylesbury, Clerk of the Bucks County Council, County Hall, 1946, pp. vi, 46, 2s. 6d.) The author of this pamphlet has already made very valuable contributions to our knowledge of the English enclosure movement, both in a careful study of Nottinghamshire enclosures and in several articles in the *English Historical Review* and the *Economic Journal*. In the work under review, Mr. Tate has furnished historians, lawyers, and surveyors with a complete list of Buckinghamshire enclosures since 1738, including in his data the repository where the documents are located, the acreage enclosed, and the dates both of the act and of the award. The actual list is prefaced by a discussion of various enclosure procedures, a critical evaluation of earlier lists, and a very brief history of enclosures in Buckinghamshire. Mr. Tate describes the

kinds of enclosure documents which are commonly extant, and pleads for the owners of the more rare documents, which describe the preliminary discussions among the landowners, and those which give the minutes of the commissions, to make such documents available. If the work is later included in a larger study of Buckinghamshire enclosures, as Mr. Tate indicates, he should check the material and footnotes on page 23 concerning Arthur Young with the original sources for dates and attributions.

JOHN G. GAZLEY

THE BRITISH PEOPLE, 1746-1946. By *G. D. H. Cole* and *Raymond Postgate*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947, pp. x, 600, xxv, \$5.00.) This book is the revision of a well-known work. Neither the title nor even the table of contents gives the reader a clear idea of its content; it is not a study of the whole life of the British people, such as Green wrote for an earlier generation. International affairs, national politics, progress in art and literature are mentioned only where they bear directly on the sufferings and struggles of the poor. A more accurate title would have been "Radical movements among the British working classes." Within this narrow frame the book has a great value, which is hardly lessened by the definitely socialistic slant of the authors. Though their leftist sympathies are frank and undisguised, they are kept balanced and philosophic by sound scholarship, broad interests, culture, kindliness, and humor, very much as in the similar writings of Bertrand Russell. Almost the only place where they show acerbity is in criticizing the too feeble leadership of the official trades unions and the Labour party which led, they believe, to a needless surrender in the general strike of 1926, and, again, in the formation of the national government in 1931. In remoter historical periods the history shows admirable candor. For instance, after recounting the terrible wrongs suffered by the masses at the opening of the period treated, the authors add, "Any historian of the middle of the eighteenth century is forced to catalogue a series of convincing reasons for discontent, and then to record contentment" (p. 83), and, again, "The provinces of England were not filled with the bitter, stormy hatred of the provinces of France" (p. 89), and, "Lord Ashley, an evangelical Tory . . . perhaps the noblest figure of the nineteenth century" (p. 265). After Kingsley, "There was, henceforward, always a small percentage of parsons with a genuine sympathy with Socialism and the misery of the working class" (p. 273). How many revolutionary writers would have written any of those sentences? Factually, the book is highly accurate, though there are inevitably a few misprints and some careless phrases. As an instance, to speak of the United States in 1900 as "holding Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippine Islands" (p. 341) confuses the very temporary military occupation of Cuba with the real annexations of the others.

PRESTON SLOSSON

HANNAH MORE AND HER CIRCLE. By *Mary Alden Hopkins*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1947, pp. xv, 274, \$3.50.) Like several other female wits of the eighteenth century, Hannah More (1745-1833) achieved a reputation beyond her deserts and has since had to pay the penalty. The Bristol schoolmistress became celebrated first as a literary paragon and afterwards, more understandably, as a social reformer, and lived long enough to become a curiosity. Though nothing she wrote has really lasted, except her animated letters, as a young woman she was assigned a place among great dramatists and poets. During her annual visits to London she made a complete conquest of all the bluestockings, male and female. Johnson's extravagant praise is easily understood, for the doctor's judgment was always at the mercy of female charm and flattery; but others were as spellbound—Garrick, Horace Walpole, and indeed everyone else of consequence except Boswell. The Parnassian chapter was brilliant but brief.

Fond as she was of such adulation, Hannah could never quite reconcile her conscience to the ways of the world. Abandoning literary ambitions, she found more secure happiness when she became associated with the Reverend John Newton, Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, and other reformers and began devoting her pen, as well as her other resources, to the promotion of antislavery, Sunday schools and other philanthropic causes. The story of Hannah More's life is interesting, and Miss Hopkins has told it well. There is not a dull page in the book. She seems, however, to have been more concerned with spirited narration than with minute accuracy. She objects, rightly, to Hannah More's earliest biographers (to their successors also?) that they all but ignore the heroine's literary work. Yet she herself fails to provide a complete list of publications and exact titles. For such information the reader must look elsewhere. A more serious fault is lack of historical perspective. No treatment is going to reanimate Hannah's plays, poems, and her one novel; but the author is entitled at least to such benefit as they would acquire from historical criticism. Likewise, the growing seriousness which led her to transfer her energies to social problems would be more intelligible if due emphasis had been placed upon the disturbing influence of French Revolutionary doctrines.

CECIL A. MOORE

PSYCHIC PHENOMENA IN THE WITCHCRAFT CASES. By *C. L'Estrange Ewen*. (Paignton, Devon, Eng., author, 1947, pp. 29, 2s. 6d.)

NEW ASPECTS OF JOHN AND WILLIAM HUNTER. By *Jane M. Oppenheimer*, Bryn Mawr College. With a Foreword by Fenwick Beckman, M.D. [Historical Library, Yale Medical Library, Publication No. 12.] (New York, Henry Schuman, 1946, pp. xviii, 188, \$6.00.) The first portion of this monograph details Miss Oppenheimer's studies relating to the burning of John Hunter's unpublished manuscripts by his pupil and brother-in-law, Everard Home. Miss Oppenheimer, after considering the available evidence, arrives at a kindlier conclusion than have other historians with respect to Home's motivation in committing Hunter's coachload of papers and writings to the flames. Miss Oppenheimer concludes that "his [Home's] destruction of the papers may be construed as the act of a man who was not so much wicked as he was unwise." John Hunter died in 1793. If Home was merely observing his dead master's instruction in consigning Hunter's manuscripts to the flames, why did he wait until 1823, thirty years after Hunter's death, to do it? Moreover, Home's publications during that interval of time were numerous and concerned subjects which had been of interest to John Hunter. Miss Oppenheimer states that, "there is only one course to follow . . . and that is to allow Sir Everard to speak in his own behalf." Every man is, of course, a prejudiced witness in defense of his own interests. The important question of the long delay, between the death of Hunter and the carrying out of his request that his papers be burned by Home, a co-executor of Hunter's estate, remains unanswered. In the long list of Hunterian lectures that have been delivered during the past century this controversy has been aired many times. Posterity has rendered its judgment upon Home's motivation, and it is unlikely that Miss Oppenheimer's more lenient view of the matter will mollify that opinion. The second portion of Miss Oppenheimer's book deals with William Hunter's contacts with men of influence of his day. This tract indicates that William Hunter, famous anatomist of his time and teacher of his more famous but younger brother, John, was also a person of affairs. William's occasional and somewhat furtive dabblings in politics do not appear to have given increased stature to his scientific career.

OWEN H. WANGENSTEEN, M.D.

MINUTES OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, 1679-1684. First Part, 1679-82. Edited by *E. E. Rich*, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. With an Intro-

duction by G. N. Clark, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Series, VIII.] (Toronto, the Society, 1945, pp. xlvii, 378.) The present volume is the second in the Hudson's Bay Company Series, published by the Champlain Society, to be devoted to the minutes of the general court and the committee of the company in London. Volume V of the series made public the contents of the first minutes book covering the period from 1671 to 1674. The second minutes book, herein printed for the first time, begins five years after the termination of the first. The story of the intervening period, for which no minutes are available, is provided in part in this study in the introduction, in the notes, and in Appendix B, which reproduces selected portions of the company's ledgers and journals. Since the contents of the second minutes book were too large to be presented in a single volume, they have been divided into two parts. The first part, for the years 1679-1682, is contained in the present publication. The second, extending from 1682 to 1684, will be published in the Hudson's Bay Company Series, Volume IX. The subject of the minutes here reproduced is largely the story of the London end of the young company's business for the years concerned. It includes little information about what went on in the fur posts on Hudson Bay, and deals mainly with such topics as securing and outfitting ships and men for the trade, making financial arrangements, and disposing of cargoes of furs. The period of interlopers and of rivalry with the French in the charter lands had not yet begun and the chief concern of the London directors was to meet the peacetime exigencies of a strange and hazardous, though potentially profitable, business in a wild and distant land across perilous seas. The high quality of editing which was conspicuous in previous volumes of the series has been maintained in the present. Students of the early history of the Hudson's Bay Company will be especially grateful for the inclusion in the appendix of a report to the governor and committee by John Nixon in 1682. Nixon was the company's governor in North America and his report contains much valuable information, not obtainable in the minutes or elsewhere, about the problems of the early fur trade in the bay. Other useful additions to the main text are sundry accounts dealing with such matters as fur sales and ownership of stock, and a series of biographies of significant individuals connected with the company during the period under consideration.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES, DOMINION OF CANADA, FOR THE YEAR 1946. By *Gustave Lanctot*, Keeper of Public Records. (Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, King's Printer, 1947, pp. xxxix, 262, \$1.00.) The major part of the contents is a calendar of Nova Scotia State Papers, 1802-20. The documents indicate the repercussions of the War of 1812 on trade and commerce through the port of Halifax. This section resumes a publication that was discontinued in 1894 after covering 1603-1801. It will now be continued until the series of official correspondence has been completed.

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop

LE DIRECTOIRE. Par G. Lefebvre, Professeur honoraire à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. [Collection Armand Colin, Section d'Histoire, no. 245.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1946, pp. 199, 80 fr.) This valuable little volume completes the series on the French Revolution in which Mathiez wrote the first three volumes and Lefebvre, his successor at the Sorbonne, contributed *Les Thermidoriens*. *Le Directoire*, originating in lectures, merits the same high praise as his previous volumes. It provides the first lucid narrative of the complex interrelationships of internal and external affairs, and comprehensive interpretation of the period, 1795-99, since the antiquated

works of Sciout, Guyot, and Pariset. The Directory—an era of transition—began under Thermidorian leadership and policies but developed as a series of crises directly correlated with the success or failure of the republican armies and ended with the triumph of Napoleonic dictatorship. Lefebvre has packed the narrative with significant interpretations of which the following are especially important: (1) failure of separation of power and embryonic parliamentarianism, (2) Directorial dictatorship and terror, (3) conflict between civil and military authority, with Napoleon undermining the Directory by double-dealing and independent action, (4) emergence of the professional soldier loyal to his commander rather than to the Republic, (5) interrelationship of economic crisis, natural frontiers, and the war, (6) English collusion in *coup d'états*, (7) mercantilism behind the commercial warfare against England, (8) appraisal of Babouvism and of the heterogeneous society, (9) religious policy unwittingly contributing to the re-establishment of Catholicism, and (10) the rise of Romanticism antedating Napoleon. Chapters III, IV, and XI on financial troubles are especially valuable as embodying recent research on the economic history of the period. The ideas and power of the bourgeoisie, first realized in 1789, defended by the Directory against royalist and extreme Jacobin alike, were confirmed by 18th Brumaire. Although Napoleon turned against the bourgeoisie, "Napoleon passed like a meteor," (p. 195) and the bourgeoisie emerged after 1814 as the champions of nineteenth century liberalism. The period of the Directory now assumes new clarity, and added meaning for the Revolutionary era, the entire span of French history, and for contemporary affairs.

LA VIE RURALE EN FRANCE: DES ORIGINES A NOS JOURS. Par *Albert Dauzat*, Professeur à l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes. ["Que sais-je?" 242.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1946, pp. 134.)

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

DUTCH CORANTOS, 1618-1650: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Folke Dahl*. (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1946, pp. 87, facsim.) In 1938 the Swedish librarian Folke Dahl caused a sensation among those interested in the early history of journalism by discovering in the Royal Library at Stockholm 1,300 copies of Dutch newspapers printed before the year 1665. Among these was the oldest known copy of a printed newspaper in any language. Almost simultaneously another, smaller collection of early Dutch newspapers was discovered in the archives of the city of Hasselt in the Netherlands. On the basis of this new material and the older known collections in the Royal Library of The Hague and the Bibliothèque Mazarine at Paris, Mr. Dahl undertook to prepare the present bibliography. In addition nearly thirty libraries in nine northern and western European countries were explored for this purpose. Careful collation of extant copies has already yielded some interesting results. By setting up the type in duplicate and printing simultaneously from two presses, Jan van Hilten was able to put out his newsheets twice as fast as his competitor, Broer Jansz. The device of inserting "Stop Press News" by deleting earlier news items already set up in print was also employed by this "first modern journalist in the Netherlands," as Mr. Dahl points out in his interesting introduction. The bibliography itself is arranged by cities and publishers. Biographical data are given at the beginning of each list. The greater part of this handsomely published volume is taken up by 332 facsimiles of corantos printed in the years 1618-1625. The reproductions are all nine tenths of the size of the originals. Thus an important source for early seventeenth century European history has been made available in an extremely attractive form. The edition has been limited to 375 copies, all of which have been donated by the Municipal and University Library of Göteborg, Sweden, to the Royal Library at The Hague, Holland, as a token of international good will. For a general description of the contents of these early newspapers reference may be had to an earlier article by Mr. Dahl in *Het Boek*, XXV (1938-39), 161-98. Students of American colonial history will be interested in the reports of the first settlement in New Netherland in Broer Jansz's *Tijdinghen* of August 24 and October 12, 1624.

HET ENGELS-NEDERLANDS CONDOMINIUM IN DE ZUIDELIJKE NEDERLANDEN TIJDENS DE SPAANSCH E SUCCESIE OORLOG, 1706-1716. By *Augustus Johannes Veenendaal*. Part I. (Utrecht, Kemink en Zoon N. V., 1945, pp. xv, 299.) The history of joint Anglo-Dutch rule in the "liberated" provinces of the southern Netherlands during the War of the Spanish Succession has received only casual treatment from the leading historians of this period. What little has hitherto been written on the subject by such writers as G. M. Trevelyan, Winston Churchill, Carl von Noorden, and Hubert van Houtte, has tended to place the actions of the Dutch in a very unfavorable light. A young Dutch historian has at last accepted the challenge, and after painstaking research in Dutch and English archives has produced the first full account of the opening phase of this interesting experiment in international government. Against the backdrop of Anglo-Dutch rivalry, Habsburg dynastic ambitions, and the fluctuating fortunes of war, Dr. Veenendaal tells the story of the Anglo-Dutch Conference and its relations with the Belgian Council of State from

1706 to the summer of 1709. Much of the action in these years centers upon the repeated but unsuccessful attempts of the conference to reorganize the corrupt system of tax collection in the province of Flanders. In this instance the Dutch were clearly interested in good government, if only for the sake of economy. The author has given full scope to the play and interplay of personalities, but the actions of the protagonists are not always clearly related to the wider issues of international diplomacy. The Dutch representative Van den Bergh emerges as the hero of the piece, which reaches its climax when conference and council become embroiled with each other over a family dispute between the duchess of Arenberg and her minor son. The squabble assumes the proportion of an international incident, threatens to disrupt the *condominium*, but finally leads to a redefinition of the powers of the Council of State. It is to be hoped that the author will shortly fulfill his intention and give us the rest of this well-written account.

ERFLATERS VAN ONZE BESCHAVING: NEDERLANDSE GESTALTEN UIT ZES EEUWEN. By Jan and Annie Romein. In four volumes. (Amsterdam, Em. Querido's Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1946, pp. 284, 321, 284, 344.) Volumes I, II, and III of the national portrait gallery with which Jan and Annie Romein have supplemented their earlier historical panorama of Dutch civilization (*De Lage Landen bij de Zee*), have been reviewed in the *American Historical Review*, XLIV (July, 1939), 984, and XLV (January, 1940), 466. The concluding fourth volume, which was first published in October, 1940, contains the portraits of four political leaders (the Liberal Thorbecke, the Calvinist Kuyper, the Roman Catholic Schaeepman, the Socialist Domela Nieuwenhuis); three men of letters (Douwes Dekker, Busken Huet, Gorter); one scientist (Donders); one painter (Van Gogh); and one architect (Berlage). With the exception of the ophthalmologist Donders, whom the authors have justly rescued from undeserved oblivion, the selection of subjects for portrayal is conventional. But this is probably to be excused in a work designed for popular consumption. The authors write well, at times even brilliantly. The entire series richly deserves the popular esteem in which it is held in the Netherlands and which has already called for five printings.

LA BELGIQUE PENDANT LA GUERRE. By Marcel Thiry. (Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1947, pp. 253). This is not a history of Belgium during the war, but rather an attempt to recapture something of the atmosphere surrounding the familiar events of those fateful years. In this the author, a poet of distinction, has succeeded very well. One should not, of course, expect to find any startling revelations in a book of this nature. But as a general account of the average Belgian's experience of war and occupation, it has a certain documentary value. Mr. Thiry is quite outspoken in his sympathy for the Walloon cause, but this natural loyalty to his native province has by no means distorted his views.

MEDEDEELINGEN VAN HET NEDERLANDSCH HISTORISCH INSTITUUT TE ROME. Second Series, Volumes IX-X; Third Series, Volumes I-III. (The Hague, Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1939, 1940, 1942, 1943, 1944, pp. xxix, 249; xxv, 253; xix, 113; xvii, 192; xxvi, 178.) In addition to the annual reports of the institute over the years 1938-1942, the *Mededeelingen* carry as usual a great number of scholarly contributions, mostly in the fields of Roman archaeology and the history of art. The following are among the articles of more general interest: "Intrigues rondom het prinsdom Oranje," by B. M. Vlekke (IX, 57-82, with summary in French); "Een kleinzoon van Willem den Zwijger als opperbevelhebber van het pauselijk leger:

Frédéric Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne hertog van Bouillon," by the same (X, 59-105); "De Geest van het Barok en de Romeinsche Keizertijd," by H. M. R. Leopold (II, 1-96, with summary in French); "Rumphius' Schelpen te Florence: een naschrift," by G. J. Hoogewerff (*ibid.*, 183-84); "De invloed van Zeger Bernard van Espen op het ontstaan van de Kerk van Utrecht," by Bertrand van Bilsen O.F.M. (III, 1-113, with bibliography).

Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden (The Hague), a new journal for the history of the Low Countries, has resulted from the merger of *Nederlandsche Historiebladen* and the *Bijdragen voor de Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*. The Dutch historians P. Geyl, P. J. van Winter, and R. Post share the editorial responsibility with three Belgian colleagues: L. van der Essen, F. L. Ganshof, and H. van Werveke. The review is published by the firm of Nijhoff in The Hague and retains the format of the old *Bijdragen*. The first issue contains a useful survey of the most important books and articles on Dutch and Belgian history published in both countries during the war years, and obituaries of prominent Dutch historians who have died in that same period. Individual articles have been listed below.

Nederland in Oorlogstijd: Orgaan van het Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie is the official journal of the new Dutch Institute for War Documentation and is published by the Stichting tot Uitgave van Publicaties van het Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam. Numbers 1-10 and 13-18 contain an annotated bibliography of books concerning the history of the Netherlands in wartime published since the liberation.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson

RUSSIA UNDER TSARS AND COMMISSARS: A READERS GUIDE. By Warren B. Walsh, Chairman of the Board of Russian Studies and Professor of History, Syracuse University. (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1946, pp. vii, 38, \$1.00.) This selected bibliography is accompanied by discriminating comments on the value and point of view of the volumes listed. A highly useful aid to students of Russia.

OCHERKI PO ISTORII KOLONIZATSII SIBIRI V XVII-NACHALE XVIII VEKOV [Studies on the history of the colonization of Siberia in the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries]. By V. I. Shunkov. (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1946, pp. 228, 10 r. 50 k.) A welcome addition to the growing literature on the early history of Russian Siberia. The author is primarily interested in the analysis and reconstruction of the settlement of the Russian peasant in the western parts of Siberia in

the period between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. The archives of the central and local agencies, heretofore rarely touched, are used as primary sources.

PATTERN FOR WORLD REVOLUTION. By *Ypsilon*. (Chicago, Ziff-Davis, 1947, pp. ix, 479, \$3.50.) Although the value of the volume is lessened by the anonymity of the authors, a student of the international communist movement will find in this publication revealing comments, particularly on the various activities and developments which took place in the 1920's.

DEFEAT IN VICTORY. By *Jan Ciechanowski*. (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1947, pp. 413, \$3.50.) "The Polish ambassador to the United States during the war years tells of his negotiations in Washington and protests against United States recognition of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in 1945."

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Near Eastern and Indian History

Sidney Glazer

SAUDI ARABIA. By K. S. Twitchell. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947, pp. xiii, 192, \$2.50.) The author of this modest but highly important volume is an American mining engineer who undertook a survey of Saudi Arabia's natural resources at King Ibn Saud's request and who visited all parts of the kingdom, including regions never before seen by a non-Moslem, during the course of his official investigation. He turned writer at the request of individuals struck by his unique experiences and seeks to give interested persons an adequate understanding of a little-known country which has become vitally significant to all Americans through the global expansion of United States oil interests. Eight chapters are given over to Saudi Arabia's characteristic features, such as agriculture, the water supply, and inland routes; five to social and political development; and four to the state's position in world economy. Most of the information is based upon personal observation, much of it is unavailable elsewhere, and everything is set forth in direct, factual style, with no other object than to inform the reader. Here, obviously, is a "must" book for every serious student of modern

imperialism and world affairs. More than fifty excellent illustrations and an exceptionally good map add materially to its value.

LOWELL RAGATZ

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD: PATTERNS OF JAPANESE CULTURE. By *Ruth Benedict*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1946, pp. 324, \$3.00.) This volume by a distinguished anthropologist was written as a report to the Office of War Information. It is not history, but it is a study no historian or social scientist concerned with the past, present, or future of Japan can neglect. In describing her assignment Dr. Benedict measures its difficulties and explains the symbolism of her title. "... the Japanese have been described in the most fantastic series of 'but also's' ever used for any nation of the world. When a serious observer is writing about peoples other than the Japanese and says they are unprecedentedly polite, he is not likely to add, 'But also insolent and overbearing.' When he says people of some nation are incomparably right in their behavior, he does not add, 'But also they adapt themselves

readily to extreme innovations.' When he says a people are submissive, he does not explain too that they are not easily amenable to control from above. When he says they are loyal and generous, he does not declare, 'But also treacherous and spiteful.' When he says they are genuinely brave, he does not expatiate on their timidity. When he says they act out of concern for others' opinions, he does not then go on to tell that they have a truly terrifying conscience. When he describes robot-like discipline in their Army, he does not continue by describing the way the soldiers in that Army take the bit in their own teeth even to the point of insubordination. When he describes a people who devote themselves with passion to Western learning, he does not also enlarge on their fervid conservatism. When he writes a book on a nation with a peculiar cult of aestheticism which gives high honor to actors and to artists and lavishes art upon the cultivation of chrysanthemums, that book does not ordinarily have to be supplemented by another which is devoted to the cult of the sword and the top prestige of the warrior. All these contradictions, however, are the warp and woof of books on Japan. They are true. Both the sword and the chrysanthemum are a part of the picture."

JAPAN: PAST AND PRESENT. By *Edwin O. Reischauer*. Foreword by Sir George Sansom. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1946, pp. x, 192, xiv, \$2.00.) In 192 smallish pages Professor Reischauer presents a very readable survey of Japanese development, with scholarship, objectivity, a firm grasp of the subject, and a nice sense of proportion. It is the sort of book which was so much needed before the war, which could have been read with profit by every participant in the Pacific campaigns, and which it is not too late to commend to the Americans who serve in the army of occupation. The brevity is not obtained by ruthless omission, but by the distillation of material. It is the result of long acquaintance with the land, the people, their culture, and their history. Where whole volumes have been written on subjects here treated in a brief paragraph, or perhaps not even mentioned, it is evident that a mass of material has been brushed aside. But the over-all picture is well proportioned. It is possible that the historians of a later generation may revise some of the judgments in the concluding chapters, but at least they will not find the ideological "perversions of systematic thought" so prevalent in recent decades. Americans who have had to deal with the governments of China and Russia, during and since the war, may be able to understand better the problems of the Japanese who had to live and work much closer to those regimes. There are no citations. The reader must assume that the best available sources of information have been drawn upon, and the assumption is safe to an unusual degree. The text is enriched by eleven simple but very helpful maps. When Sir George Sansom wrote in his introduction: "I can truthfully say that I do not know of any short book on Japanese history which gives so much useful information in so brief and simple a form," he forecast the reaction of this reviewer and, no doubt, of most readers.

PAYSON J. TREAT

HISTORY OF FIJI. Volume I, TO 1874. By *R. A. Derrick*. (Suva, Printing and Stationery Department, 1946, pp. xxviii, 250, 5s. for school edition.) Here is a book which will win the warm approbation of specialists in colonial affairs. Fiji was the only Melanesian state arising in the Pacific during the last century to gain international recognition. France, the United States, and Great Britain all became interested in the archipelago in the fifties and considerable rivalry for foothold ensued. An offer of cession was received by Britain as early as 1858 but was declined. However, with the outbreak of anarchy menacing life and investments, with the growth of imperialistic sentiment at home, and under the pressure of the Australian colonies, annexation was

at length carried through in 1874. The author has long been a resident of Fiji. He has produced this scholarly and fascinating history so that islanders may learn of their past and so that outsiders may gain an intelligent understanding of the area and its problems. While perforce written from the European angle since the natives kept no written records, Mr. Derrick at all times reveals a kindly apprehension of native points of view and of the crises attending a conflict of cultures. Especially good are his chapters on the new warfare following the introduction of firearms, the rise of powerful kingdoms, the jockeying of foreign commercial interests for position, and the labor traffic. The book ably fills a conspicuous gap in the literature of modern empire building. Five excellent maps, a bibliography, and the deed of cession (a scarce document, for which many a student has searched in vain) contribute materially to its usefulness. Volume II will be eagerly awaited by all who read the first.

LOWELL RAGATZ

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, TEACHER OF HISTORY. By *Luther V. Hendricks*.

(New York, King's Crown Press, 1946, pp. xii, 120, \$2.00.) This book is a thorough, well-balanced, minute, and exhaustive account of the professional career of one of the world's most distinguished teachers. No public or semipublic act or writing of James Harvey Robinson has been neglected. On the other hand there is no fulsome praise, no forced endeavor to make Robinson appear other than he was, *primus inter pares*, among a number of scholars who sought successfully to free history from its conventional role as the record of past politics, and to broaden, sweeten, and make lucid our knowledge of the past by the use of selected source material. But that Robinson was first, not merely in time but in influence, needs emphasis. He, like others, regarded the entire record of the past, both written and unwritten, as the legitimate domain of the historian; but unlike others he focused a brilliant intellect on those historical materials which formed the background and gave rise to the mental crosscurrents of his day. He was not concerned with *Kulturgeschichte* per se; he wanted to know why we think the way we do, a fact amply demonstrated by copious extracts in this book from *Mind in the Making* and various addresses. The eternal "Why?" was ever in his mind; why are people narrow-minded, chauvinistic, prejudiced, cruel, stupid? If the answer can be found in history, then half the battle for a better world was won. This was his unique contribution to American thought. Professor Robinson was a superb teacher. Many of us came out of his classroom feeling that we had never before been compelled to think. He was a kind of eighteenth century Voltaire without the venom, a kind of nineteenth century Bentham without rigid presuppositions. One never knew what might happen at his lectures. He might suddenly switch from Aristotle to the abacus, from Galileo to the wise Japanese custom of mixed bathing. But it all belonged somehow; and one left reluctantly, not only with a more active mind but with affection kindled for the lecturer whose gentle irony heightened rather than concealed a personality most kind and gracious.

WALTER P. HALL

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE NATIONAL CAPITAL: Containing Notes and Correspondence exchanged between Jefferson, Washington, L'Enfant, Ellicott, Hallett, Thornton, Latrobe, the Commissioners, and others, relating to the founding, surveying, planning, designing, constructing, and administering of the City of Washington, 1783-1818. Edited by *Saul K. Padover*. Preface by Harold L. Ickes. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1946, pp. xxxvi, 522.) Dr. Padover's book is the fourth of the "Source Book Series" published by the National Park Service. In it he has assembled the notes and correspondence from 1783 to 1818 between Jefferson and others who had to do with the founding of the national capital in Washington. This material has been compiled from many sources and is presented without comment by the

editor. From it we can easily piece together the history of Jefferson's inspiring leadership in the many phases of building the city of Washington. The early pages of the book indicate the vast problems of finding a permanent and adequate site for the nation's capital and of forming the District of Columbia on the banks of the Potomac. Jefferson, as Secretary of State under Washington, directed the details of surveying the District and of planning the federal city. This included the financing of the gigantic enterprise and the establishing of a new city government. During his presidency, Jefferson never lost touch with the development of the city nor did he relax his grip on the control of its affairs. His correspondence at this period deals with such matters as the sale of lots in order to finance the public building program; the drafting of building regulations; the design of public buildings, and even the soothing of wounded feelings of the temperamental artists who took part in the undertaking. Even after his retirement from public life to Monticello, Jefferson's exchange of letters with Latrobe deals largely with the city of Washington. In it Latrobe describes the destruction of the public buildings at the hands of the British troops and reports later on their restoration. Jefferson's mind at the time is concentrated on the building of his university, but he shows deep concern for the welfare of the capital in whose creation he played a major role. Although the record presented in the book is necessarily incomplete, it serves to show Jefferson clearly as the city planner. The many-sided accomplishments of the eighteenth century statesman are all given full scope in the ramifications of building a great city. In spite of the missing fragments, the mosaic shows unmistakably the portrait of a great man.

WALDRON FAULKNER

THOMAS PAINE, AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

By *Joseph Lewis*. (New York, Freethought Press Association, 1947, pp. 315, \$3.00.)

This claim has come up before, but not in so virulent a form. The late Albert Matthews, in a communication "Thomas Paine and the Declaration of Independence" to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1910 (*Proceedings*, XLIII, 241-53), examined the arguments of Moncure D. Conway to the effect that Paine wrote the rejected anti-slave-trade clause. "It would not be easy," concluded Matthews, "to find a more glaring instance of begging the question." Mr. Lewis not only begs that question but the entire Declaration for Paine. Thomas Paine was not exactly a shrinking violet, but he never claimed to have had the slightest part in writing the Declaration, even in his will where his principal writings are set forth. *Common Sense*, to be sure, crystallized sentiment for independence, but that has been universally admitted since 1776. Mr. Lewis's arguments as to Paine's authorship hardly need refutation. The case is largely based on the author's inspiration that Paine *must* have done it, together with depreciation of Jefferson as a man incapable of drafting so noble a document. A whole chapter is devoted to the argument that because "hath" appears once in the Declaration, a Quaker must have written the entire document. There is much parade of the author's "discovery" of the Adams draft, as though it had been jealously guarded as a sort of skeleton in the Adams family closet; but the Adams draft has been printed several times, and reproduced in facsimile. The only argument the author could get out of it is this: Adams used a lot of capital letters, and Paine used a lot of capital letters; hence Adams must have copied this draft from one written by Paine.

SAMUEL E. MORISON

- I FOUGHT WITH CUSTER. By *Frazier* and *Robert Hunt*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947, pp. 254, \$3.50.) "The story of Sergeant Windolph, last survivor of the battle of the Little Big Horn, as told to the Hunts, with explanatory material and contemporary sidelights on the Custer fight."

THE OHIO COMPANY PAPERS, 1753-1817: BEING PRIMARILY PAPERS OF THE "SUFFERING TRADERS" OF PENNSYLVANIA. By *Kenneth P. Bailey*, Associate Professor of History, Humboldt State College. (Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, 1947, pp. xi, 549.) The publication of manuscript historical material, however familiar, is, if well done, an important service to scholarship. This volume, the third in recent years by Professor Bailey, merits compliments and welcome, particularly from those interested in American frontier history, 1753-1817. The preface and introduction are scholarly and well written. The numerous footnotes are valuable and the index is comprehensive. The statement (p. vi), "The importance of these papers to the history of Colonial America, especially during the years from 1753 to 1775, is tremendous," seems justified. Nevertheless some defects, major and minor, of the volume require mention. The title is admittedly (p. 8) "misleading." Three of the score or more of important western land companies of the period contained in their titles the two words, "Ohio" and "Company"; namely the Ohio Company (of Virginia), the Ohio Company of New England Associates, and the Grand Ohio Company (of Pennsylvania). As indicated by the subtitle of this volume, the first two are ignored. No justification such as depository label, sonorousness, or sales can really excuse failure to fit title to contents. Another, probably unavoidable, major defect is inferior imprint. Lithoprinted, it is indistinct and hard on eyesight and the coarse paper binding lacks durability. Minor defects are not numerous. The four maps require a magnifying glass for details. The sources of seven quotations in widely scattered footnotes are not given. The index was not well edited and contains shortcomings in regard to John Baynton, Thomas Pownall, John Pownall, and Augustine Washington, in matters of uncorrected spelling and wrong identification. Mention (p. 9, n. 27) of an author and his work, not yet released, was an indiscretion. All in all, however, this is a valuable publication and worth its price. Its sale should be large, for its use will be heavy.

ALFRED P. JAMES

AMERICA MOVES WEST. By *Robert E. Riegel*, Dartmouth College. [Revised edition.] (New York, Henry Holt, 1947, pp. xi, 643, \$4.10.) See review of 1931 edition, *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (July, 1932), 811.

AN AMERICAN DYNASTY: THE STORY OF THE McCORMICKS, MEDILLS, and PATTERSONS. By *John Tebbel*. (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1947, pp. x, 363, \$3.00.) "All the incredible history behind the operations of these papers—the ludicrous as well as the dangerous—is here disclosed. With evidence directly from their own columns, Mr. Tebbel evaluates their policies, sounds a warning to the public, and challenges American journalism to weed its own garden."

JOSEPH McKENNA, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Matthew McDevitt*. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1946, pp. 257, \$2.75.)

SELECTED LETTERS OF WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, 1899-1943. Edited with an Introduction by *Walter Johnson*. (New York, Henry Holt, 1947, pp. viii, 460, \$3.75.) "The Sage of Emporia" he was called. Born and anchored to the Midwest, William Allen White was devoted to its interests, institutions, development, and especially its outlook. Many of these things he shaped with his dextrous editorial pen in his famous *Emporia Gazette*. Always a lover of publicity, he was a humorous man who made it a business to seek the great and capture their friendship. Because of his journalism, the several important books he wrote, the publicity and the almost constant attention, most

of his story is well known. His recent autobiography added little to this story, and these letters add even less. However, what he wrote Theodore Roosevelt, Harold Ickes, and Franklin D. Roosevelt is important to historians, as also are such miscellaneous items as the letter to Will Hays with its shrewd delineation of the life of Woodrow Wilson. These letters show the utterly natural White, his energy, forthrightness, loyalty, humor, the love he could always extend to the little as well as the big fellow. He had perspicuity for politics and was often worried about social trends: "We aren't thinking in terms of a better tomorrow," he wrote Walter Lippman, "but merely trying to make a bridge back to yesterday." Originally a conservative and later a conscious liberal, he loved to crusade and was often led away from his milieu only to bound back: "We cannot deal much in caviar. We are in the sauerkraut stratum." President Franklin Roosevelt said of him from a platform in White's home town, "Between elections Bill is off the reservation for three years but on the fourth he always jumps back." Whatever greatness he had as a force was due to his idealism: he could write Nicholas Murray Butler about "a great faith in man's essential long-run intelligence, integrity, purpose and courage." There are some regrettable aspects about this book: there are no letters before 1899; apparently the only letters used were those in White's carbons; there are mysterious excisions; many people are identified in the text of the letters; and of course these are "selected" letters; but there is a long introduction and there are numerous background notes. This volume reveals an entertaining picture of a lovable American character.

HAROLD DEAN CATER

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: AN INFORMAL BIOGRAPHY. By *Alden Hatch*. (New York, Henry Holt, 1947, pp. viii, 413, \$3.00.) This volume is definitely simple, informal, and impressionistic, with dialogue supplied to heighten effects. Otherwise it offers nothing new and the laudatory tone is shaded only by the chapter on the London economic conference (1933) entitled "Franklin Makes a Mistake." The illustrations are well chosen. The author has also written biographies of Wendell Willkie and General Eisenhower.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE ARTICULATE SISTERS: PASSAGES FROM JOURNALS AND LETTERS OF THE DAUGHTERS OF PRESIDENT JOSIAH QUINCY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY. Edited by M. A. DeWolfe Howe. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1946, pp. 249, \$3.50.) The accomplished editor of this volume has made a happy selection from a much larger mass of family papers. The result is a book that ought to delight the general reader and one that is bound to be instructive to the historian of New England's social culture. Boston comes off very well at the hands of the Quincy ladies. Through their eyes we see its dances, its dinner parties, its operas and plays, its summer seaside fashionable hotels. These literary ladies have preserved the accents of its speech, the forms of its conversations, and they pass on to us its mingled characteristics of gentility, decorum, and a slightly unbending sophistication. When these sisters were confiding their thoughts and opinions to paper, the Age of Bulfinch had passed away, and the Age of Apley, unguessed of, lay far in the future. The Boston of the Quincys was distinct, individualized, sure of itself. There seems to have been a very active social life, with much entertaining back and forth, visits to the country places of friends and kinfolk, and trips to the metropolis when the family resided in Cambridge. The Quincy girls were equal to any occasion, private or public, and to be introduced to a President of the United States, in their own home, was no novelty. Their skill in description pretty well matched their opportunities for observation. The book abounds with amusing and informative passages. Let two stand for the lot: Sister Margaret has gone to Charleston where the Pinckney ladies and Mrs. Izard, their sister, received her. "The eldest Miss Morris, the fair Ella, is engaged to a Mr. Butler of Philadelphia, and is indeed a beautiful creature. When she and her sister entered, I was sure at the first glance they had been educated at some fashionable school, and on applying to Mrs. Rutledge she informed me their education had just received the *last finish* at Mrs. Somebody's boarding school, in Philadelphia! I presume the engagement to Mr. Butler was the most desirable finish that could have been imagined." Sister Susan on July 2, 1818, conversed with their guest, Daniel Webster. "I then said, 'Do you think John Quincy Adams will be the next President of the

United States?" 'No man can answer that question! But his chance is good, his qualifications preëminent.' Mr. Webster now became lost in thought. The prospects of another Secretary of State, of another candidate for the Presidency, evidently rose before his mental vision. His brow darkened, and I watched with intense interest the manifestations of a mighty Intelligence." This book afforded the reviewer a pleasure, continuous and unalloyed.

FULMER MOOD

LAKE CHAMPLAIN AND LAKE GEORGE. By *Frederic F. Van de Water*. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1946, pp. 381, \$3.50.) It would not be easy to mention any region thus far covered by the American Lakes Series which has had a more romantic and colorful history than the area including Lake Champlain and Lake George. Strategically situated between the St. Lawrence and Hudson rivers, these lakes, though relatively small, have constituted a veritable highway of empire, traversed in turn by Indians, explorers, fur traders, and Jesuit missionaries; and by invading armies—French, British, and American. The history of warfare along the waterway has been marked by raids and massacres, full-scale military campaigns, sieges, and naval battles. Mr. Van de Water has made the most of this phase of his theme and almost two thirds of the present volume is concerned with the struggle for this "no man's land" through the intercolonial wars, the Revolution, and the War of 1812. While military and naval operations are interestingly and competently treated, one feels that the author has been handicapped by the fact that much of his story has already been admirably told by Parkman and many others. The interest tends to quicken when the volume concerns itself with relatively less familiar matters, such as smuggling along the international boundary, steamboating on the lakes, and the advent of the summer tourist. Incidentally, one of the most fascinating chapters in the book is that in which the restoration of old Fort Ticonderoga by the Pell family is described. But such matters as the settlement of the region and its economic and social development are but sketchily treated, which seems a pity as Mr. Van de Water is at his best in dealing with such material. The bibliographical note and citations to authorities bear witness to the extensive and careful research which have been devoted to the writing of the book. Yet there are some minor errors and omissions as well as evidences of prejudice which lead one to suspect that the author is not altogether at home in the role of historian. From the point of view of the reader the most serious defect is the lack of adequate maps to illustrate the numerous military and naval operations to which so much space is devoted. In spite of certain shortcomings, the volume will serve as an admirable popular introduction to the history of the region. And if it serves to point the way to the pages of Francis Parkman, Allen French, and Justin H. Smith, to say nothing of Kenneth Roberts, it will have been eminently worth while.

WAYNE E. STEVENS

DE NEDERLANDSCHE LUTHERSCHE GEMEENTEN IN NOORD-AMERIKA, 1649-1772. By *W. J. Kooiman*. (Amsterdam, W. Ten Have, 1946, pp. 77, 2 fl.) The text of this scholarly monograph is the inaugural lecture delivered by the author before the combined faculties of the University of Amsterdam and the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary. It is followed by the highly useful documentation, which fills thirty-seven pages. Professor Kooiman is fully justified in his claim that the Lutherans in New Amsterdam did not see any sign of the vaunted love for religious liberty which is so often said to have characterized the Dutch Calvinists as well as the English Puritans. At the same time he makes it clear that the Lutheran church in Amsterdam exerted great influence in North America. Its constitution became the model for those of the Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, Georgia, and nearly all the other

English colonies. Moreover, the Lutheran church in the former Dutch colony proved to be the oldest of those which have continued in existence since the time of their founding.

A. HYMA

THE WORLD OF JUSTUS FALCKNER. By *Delber Wallace Clark*. (Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, 1946, pp. 189, \$2.50.) The author of this biography became interested in Justus Falckner (1672-1723), the Lutheran pastor, when Clark settled in 1931 as rector of an episcopal church in Coxsackie and also as a curate of another in Athens, New York. He undertook researches to ascertain how it was that episcopacy began in a Dutch community. Search among the local records led him to the influence that Falckner played in that region, and it diverted his attention from his major objective to Falckner. The book is the result; though just when it was about ready to go to press, the author died (January, 1946). The style of writing is direct and pleasing, picturesque as a romance, using often the vernacular, and having a popular appeal. The book jacket says it was "written for the understanding and pleasure of laymen, students and pastors." The author made himself familiar with the geographical places in which Falckner's pastorates were spent, and in revivifying the ancient scenes he frequently uses his imagination. He has based his local researches upon the pioneer researches of Sachse, and also upon new discoveries of manuscript sources that Sachse had not used. His debt to Sachse and to Knittle is evident at many points. Clark has particularly stressed the personalia of the pioneer settlers and communicants of Lutheranism among the Dutch in the province of New York, and among the Palatines after they arrived, during Queen Anne's reign; and his observations contribute a picture of the social customs and folklore of the people concerned. The geographical range is wide. Falckner's first pastorate was in New York City, but his missionary activities took him from northern New Jersey to Long Island and the upper reaches of the Hudson Valley. The fact that the work was published posthumously may condone the erratic spelling of names and inadequate or erroneous citation of source material.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

WRITINGS ON PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. A List of Secondary Materials compiled under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Historical Association by *Arthur C. Bining*, University of Pennsylvania, *Robert L. Brunhouse*, Drew University, *Norman B. Wilkinson*, Muhlenberg College. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1946, pp. xxxviii, 565.) This volume is a remarkable compendium of secondary source material of Pennsylvania history in both the colonial and state periods. One might go farther to say that the bibliography collected here is of topmost importance to the student of the entire American colonial period, as Pennsylvania was a typical colony and often led the way in colonial movements. The arrangement of the bibliography should meet the approval of all students. It follows the same general plan as the *Writings on American History*, sponsored by the American Historical Association. Much care has been given to the division and subdivision of topics. Section I deals with bibliographical aids; Section II with bibliography of Pennsylvania history; Section III with general and special works; and Section IV with Pennsylvania in literature. Each of these sections is subdivided many times with such headings alphabetically arranged as to facilitate the selecting of material on any given subject. Following a very complete table of contents is an exhaustive list of serials covering every phase of Pennsylvania history. In a study of this type students in each field may be aware of some omissions. For instance, the student of western Pennsylvania immediately before and during the Revolution would be disappointed to find no direct allusion made to Hannastown with the many activities and person-

alities of that place. Then, too, no adequate mention is made of Arthur St. Clair, who was the bright and shining leader of western Pennsylvania, both in its settlement and during the American Revolution, and one part only of the two volumes, *Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, by a commission appointed in 1896 is listed. It required painstaking research to make the selections for this bibliography, and every student of Pennsylvania history should welcome it as a necessary handbook.

MARY ALICE PARRISH

HISTORY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE. By *Wayland Fuller Dunaway*, Professor Emeritus of American History, the Pennsylvania State College. (State College, Pa., the college, 1946, pp. xiv, 540.)

THE PENITENTIARY MOVEMENT IN DELAWARE, 1776 TO 1829. By *Robert Graham Caldwell*, Sociology Department, College of William and Mary. (Wilmington, Historical Society of Delaware, 1946, pp. 251, \$3.00.)

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THE FIRST TRADING POST AT KICOTAN (KECOUGHTAN), HAMPTON, VIRGINIA. By *Joseph B. Brittingham* and *Alvin W. Brittingham, Sr.* (Hampton, Va., Joseph B. Brittingham, 1947, pp. 23, plates, 50 cents.) "A description of the excavation work with map and photographs of some of the artifacts found at the site on which, the authors have endeavored to show, was built the first trading post established by the Colonists for trading with the Indians prior to 1610."

GEORGIA: A SHORT HISTORY. By *E. Merton Coulter*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1947, pp. xii, 510, \$4.50.) The revised and enlarged edition retains the features commented on in the review of the earlier volume (*American Historical Review*, XL [October, 1934], 140) and amplifies the account from Reconstruction to constitutional revision under Governor Arnall. A state map and adequate select bibliography are supplied.

MAVERICK TOWN: THE STORY OF OLD TASCOSA. By *John L. McCarty*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1946, pp. xiii, 277, \$3.00.) The rise and fall of a little town in the Texas Panhandle which might have become a city like Amarillo had bovine and railroad gods so decreed is ably described by John L. McCarty in *Maverick Town*. As one of the last "frontier" towns—its most prosperous days being the seventies and eighties—it linked the days of the Mexican Haciendados (though of a modest variety) with the days of the great south-north cattle trails and in its intermediate historical position witnessed the almost cinema-like phases of American life in the West: battles with Indians, raids of desperadoes, Billy the Kid among them, inrush of settlers, gun battles in the street, gradual establishment of law and order, and the coming of a church and a school. But though its inhabitants had great affection for it, and large ranches grew up about it, and the county seat was established there, the railroads shunned it, trade routes crossed far below it, and finally the Canadian River rose and washed half of it away. The actual value of the book, written for the general reader, is that most of the research necessary for its production was made among living sources. People of old Tascosa, still living in and near the Panhandle have preserved in their memories some colorful recollections of the vital days of this "ghost town." The Homer who sang its glories was C. F. Rudolph editor of the *Tascosa Pioneer*, and upon his day-to-day jottings of town life Mr. McCarty has built several interesting chapters. I know of no other book in which this phase of American frontier life is so painstakingly shown. ERIC P. KELLY

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE TENNESSEE. Volume I, THE OLD RIVER: FRONTIER TO SECESSION. By Donald Davidson. (New York, Rinehart, 1946, pp. x, 342, \$3.00.) This, the thirty-first volume in the Rivers of America Series, is one of the better books in the series. Written by a Vanderbilt professor of English, it could be expected to have literary merit, and it does. Mr. Davidson's talents for exposition and interpretation of facts, together with his sense of good reporting and dramatic value, result in writing that should have popular appeal, especially since his subject involves the lure of the West—the adventures of explorers, traders, river men and the land-hungry settlers, as well as the Indians who dominated the river and contested the white man's advances. The book is also good history. It marks a departure from the emphasis on folklore that characterizes the series. The author has utilized the researches of others, such as Samuel Cole Williams and Grant Foreman, and has added much of his own from original sources. His chapter on the eighteenth century Carolina traders who preceded the settlers, and his story of Fort Loudoun, are distinct contributions. His description of ante-bellum society recognizes the interpretations of Professor Owsley. Useful maps and a bibliography are included, also several interesting woodcuts made by the author's wife of representative scenes. The Tennessee River, whose waters drain parts of seven states and flow in a direct channel of nine hundred miles, crossing the state of Ten-

nessee twice to join the Ohio, has had singular effects upon the peoples who touched it. It has lured, thwarted, and diverted them. It was a wild river until our present time. But it has figured prominently in national history. Instances are: the forced removal from it by federal authority of the Cherokee Indians—a national disgrace in the opinion of the author; the struggle of the Union armies for its control in the Civil War; the appropriation of its Muscle Shoals by the federal government for nitrate manufacture during the first World War; and its subjugation by the TVA, which finally harnessed its wild power for the common welfare, and made it one of the most advertised rivers in the world. Until now a synthesis of its history has not been available. So great was the need and so important the subject that it was a wise decision to make two volumes of the present work in order that the great episodes in the river's history might have the ample treatment they deserve. The publishers may be complimented for the attractive format, but should be reproved for their attitude about footnotes. Their policy should not be so inflexible that it cannot be modified for a really significant historical work. To date only four members of the American Historical Association are represented among the thirty-one authors of the series. One wonders why.

CULVER H. SMITH

A TRIP FROM NEW YORK TO THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY IN 1845. By *Nathaniel Fish Moore*. Edited by *Stanley Pargellis* and *Ruth Lapham Butler*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press for the Newberry Library, 1946, pp. xviii, 102, \$2.75.) Here is fresh evidence that within a decade after George Catlin publicized the "fashionable tour" to the upper Mississippi, the river trip had become a well-known tour and the Falls of St. Anthony, at the head of navigation, a popular travelers' mecca. For within the covers of this little book is published for the first time the diary kept from July 31 to September 20, 1845, by the president of Columbia College during the course of a journey to Fort Snelling and the falls. Into his trip Moore crammed experiences as varied as American travel of the 1840's could well offer a sixty-three-year-old scholar. River and lake boats, affording every degree of luxury and discomfort, gritty railroad carriages, and jolting stagecoaches carried him on his strenuous way to Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago, Galena, Fort Snelling, St. Louis, the Missouri back country, Cape Girardeau, Wheeling, Cumberland. Before completing this circle tour by rail at New York, Moore knew at first hand what it meant to travel on the Great Lakes, the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the National Road. He had crossed the Illinois prairies, visited a smelting furnace and a lead mine at Galena, watched Indians in native villages, described a "perfect gem" of a waterfall that Longfellow was later to make world famous, learned about a remote race of buffalo-hunting Red River half-breeds, seen the Mormon temple at Nauvoo, and met such frontier characters as John Marsh, Franklin Steele, Captain Seth Eastman, and Pierre Chouteau, jr. In their introduction, the editors provide an informative setting for Moore's journal, and in more than a hundred annotations they explain obscure references in the diarist's entries. A portrait of Moore and contemporary views of a half-dozen places he saw illustrate the narrative. End-paper maps showing the "western rivers" on which he traveled are a feature of the attractive and appropriate format.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

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Latin-American History

John J. Johnson

GENERAL

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COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

TRUE NARRATIVE OF THE HARDSHIPS AND FATE OF THOSE WHO SAILED ON THE VOYAGE TO THE RÍO DE LA PLATA, WRITTEN BY ANDRÉS MARTÍNEZ, RESIDENT OF THIS CITY OF SEVILLA. [Archivum Nauticum, No. 1.] (New York, privately printed, 1946, pp. 16.) "Archivum Nauticum," number 1 consists of sixteen small-folio pages issued by Yale University Press from the design of Carl Purington Rollins, with historical interest in an inverse proportion to the number of pages. It is privately printed by Mr. Henry C. Taylor of New York City, a facsimile reprint of *Relación verdadera de los trabajos y fortunas que an passado los que fueron el viaje del Río de la Plata. Escrita por Andrés Martínez, vezino desta ciudad de Seuilla*, the original printed at Seville by Alonso de Coca, the text dated Santo Domingo, August 15, 1559, the two small-folio leaves of the original accompanied by an English version done by G. Ballon Landa for Mr. Taylor. Martínez sailed from San Lúcar at the mouth of the Guadalquivir on the first of March, 1559, the expedition headed for the Río de la Plata. Lack of provisions, added to other failures in outfitting, forced a shift in plans about the twenty-fourth of May, south of the equator, with final landing at Santo Domingo about July 20. The document is important in showing conclusively that Spain did not wait for some forty years, as is commonly reported and accepted, to renew colonizing in this region after the failure of Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1543. Students of the history of printing in Spain will note that this piece from the press of de Coca is earlier than any hitherto reported. Mr. Taylor in his preface expresses the hope that this may "prove to be the first of a series of more or less fugitive pieces of Americana with a nautical flavor which are not readily available in the original to scholars and collectors."

H. M. LYDENBERG

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MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA, AND THE CARIBBEAN

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

The headquarters hotel for the meeting of the Association in Cleveland December 27, 28, and 29, 1947, will be the Hotel Cleveland. Accommodations in nearby hotels will also be available. The committee on local arrangements will send out the usual announcements and requests for reservations, probably in advance of the mailing of the program. Pursuant to the decision made at the business meeting in 1946, the program committee will follow the practice of other similar organizations in using Sunday, December 28, for program purposes. The competition for space in large hotels in the holiday week between Christmas and New Year's Day compels the early choice of a headquarters hotel in any city which can accommodate the Association. The meeting in 1948 in Washington will have its center in the Mayflower Hotel. The local committee in Boston has an option on space for the meeting in 1949.

At its meeting in December the Council approved the proposal of the Executive Secretary to publish a list of the doctoral dissertations in progress. The Executive Secretary reports that with the co-operation of the departments of history in the institutions giving the doctor's degree something over one thousand candidates and their theses topics will be printed. Dr. Lowell Ragatz of George Washington University will prepare and edit the report. It will be sold through the office of the Executive Secretary at \$1.00 to cover in part the costs. Advance orders will justify only a small edition. Libraries and members who have not placed orders should do so at once as the print order will not be a speculative investment in future orders.

The card enclosed with the current bills going to all members is meant as a serious appeal for what the churches call an "every member canvas." There is not a present member who cannot nominate one or more possible additional members. Despite advances in printing costs the membership fee covering subscription to the *Review* remains at \$5.00, and no advance will need to be considered if the membership and support steadily increase. The editorial faith that the *Review* has an appeal to the intelligent nonprofessional public has been strengthened by a postmaster who took a copy out of its wrapper, read it, and sent in his subscription. The incident also strengthens our faith in the intelligence of postmasters.

The names of two more members of the Association who attended the New York meeting in 1896 may be added to the list in the footnote in the April issue, page 587. They are Professor A. C. Howland of the University of Pennsylvania and Professor A. B. White of the University of Minnesota. Now emeritus profes-

sors, they were then graduate students and never heard of the register for those in attendance.

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: eight manuscripts of which two bear the signature of George Washington, June, 1744, to October 16, 1786; four hundred and eighty-two manuscripts of Elizabeth [Smith] Shaw and members of her family, 1768 to 1857, including more than one hundred letters from Abigail Adams, 1784 to 1818; bull of Pius VI appointing Francisco Azedo y Torres treasurer of the Metropolitan Church of Toledo, Spain, May 3, 1775; official register of the texts of commissions issued for various civil and military posts in the Philippine Islands by the president, governor, and captain general of these islands, Don Joseph Basco y Vargas, Manila, May 5, 1782, to February 18, 1784; photostatic copy of certificate of the services of General Alexander Spotswood, signed by Thomas Jefferson, September 12, 1798; manuscript in the Battak language of Sumatra, written on strips of bark in the eighteenth or nineteenth century; a small group of letters, including a number of the Civil War period, many of them addressed to Frederick Hickey, 1803 to 1900, and a notebook containing holograph diary entries 1847 to 1855; photostatic copy of Thomas Jefferson's message to the Otoes, written in French and signed by Jefferson, January 4, 1806; one-volume manuscript journal of Dr. John Fitzhugh, jr., surgeon's mate on the U.S. Frigate *Congress*, covering a voyage from Annapolis to Canton by way of Rio de Janeiro, February 22, 1819, to September 28, 1820; letter from Richard Morecraft to Judge Samuel Preston, dated at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 8, 1828; photostatic copy of letter from William B. Reed to Jacob B. Burnet, June 17, 1840; petition to sell real estate granted in the case of *ex parte*, Sarah Brown, Guardian, Circuit Court, Springfield, Illinois, part in the handwriting of Abraham Lincoln and part in the handwriting of David Davis [November 10, 1840]; four sheets of traffic records of a Potomac River steamboat line, 1844 to 1854; photostatic copy of letter from Charlotte Cushman to Sara Coxin, April 28, [1848]; one envelope of miscellaneous papers of John Evans [of Washington, D. C.], *ca.* 1849 to 1879; nineteen boxes of papers of Mabel T. Boardman, *ca.* 1853 to 1945 (restricted); minutes of the board of directors of the Recife and São Francisco Pernambuco [Brazil] Railway Company, consisting of transcripts authenticated by signatures of the secretary or chairman of each meeting, volumes 1, 2, 4, and 5, October 11, 1854, to November 11, 1856, and August 4, 1857, to June 21, 1861; photographic copy of circular letter signed by Henry B. Hyde, founder of the Equitable Life Insurance Society of the United States, soliciting support for his new venture, June 1, 1859; three-page autobiography prepared by Abraham Lincoln, in his own handwriting, for Jesse W. Fell of Illinois, December, 1859; cer-

tified typescript copy of the diary of Fannie Page Hume, written at "Selma," Orange, Virginia, January 1 to December 31, 1862; additional papers of Dr. Phineas Parkhurst Quimby, including three holograph notebooks of questions and answers in the field of metaphysics, *ca.* 1862; holograph letter from Major General William T. Sherman to General Burnside, dated at Marysville [Tennessee], December 5, 1863; holograph letter from Major General William T. Sherman to Major General J. B. McPherson, dated at "Head Qrs. Dept of the Tenn. Vicksburg," January 17, 1864; photostatic copy of a holograph letter from Friedr[ich] Smetana to [] Valentin, dated at Prague, January 24, 1864; legal paper, undated, in Abraham Lincoln's autograph, signed by D[avid] Davis; holograph letter from Ulysses S. Grant to his father, dated at "Head-Quarters Armies of the United States," May 21, 1867; eleven autograph letters written by Charles Reade, English novelist and playwright, dealing mainly with the struggle by British and American authors for an international copyright law and with Reade's efforts to obtain admission of American authors to the [British] Authors Protective Society, *ca.* 1870 to 1883; seventy-two boxes and several portfolios of the papers of C. Hart Merriam, naturalist, including about one hundred and twenty-five volumes of manuscript journals covering a period of more than sixty years and a set of some two hundred manuscript Indian vocabularies with accompanying large-scale colored manuscript maps showing the distribution of all known Indian tribes and bands of California and Nevada, mainly 1871 to 1938; memorandum of the cruise of the U.S.S. *Kearsarge*, kept by Yeoman J. C. Stoddard, March 2, 1874, to December, 1877; the noncurrent records of the Literary Society of Washington, including correspondence, minutes of meetings, and manuscripts of papers presented, mainly 1875 to 1946; five boxes of papers of the late Walter D. Rowlands, collector, largely letters to Dr. Rowlands, but including also single autographs, photographs, and printed matter, *ca.* 1882 to 1939; holograph manuscript from which Sir Edwin Arnold's poem, "The Light of Asia," was printed, and holograph letter from Sir Edwin to Andrew Carnegie presenting the manuscript as a "keepsake," July 6, 1883; photostatic copy of Ulysses S. Grant's holograph memorandum (published in facsimile on p. 320 of Horace Green's *General Grant's Last Stand*), July 10, [1885]; four boxes of papers of the late Harold Frederic, American novelist and journalist, consisting largely of holograph and typescript memorandums and manuscripts, but including also a few pieces of correspondence, and three diary notebooks mainly 1890 to 1898; photostatic copies of thirty-nine letters and notes from Woodrow Wilson to Mrs. Harry Fielding Reid of Baltimore, a long-time friend of the Wilson family, *ca.* 1897 to 1923 (restricted); research notes taken by Dr. Annie H. Abel Henderson from the files of the London Missionary Society, the Thomas C. Hodgkin papers, the Dominion Archives at Ottawa, the George C. Sibley Papers in St. Louis and elsewhere, relating among other matters to missionary and antislavery work in Africa, the South Seas, on the North American continent and elsewhere, in the nineteenth century; twenty-nine boxes of additional

papers of, or relating to, Robert G. Ingersoll, mainly 1900 to 1920; photostatic copies of letter and short autobiography by Gennadii Vasil'evich Yudin and letter from Alexay Yudin, in Russian, December 27, 1903, to April 21, 1912; six additional papers and seven photostatic copies of papers of, or relating to, Woodrow Wilson, 1910 to 1945 (restricted); ledger of the Franz Eher Publishing House containing entries on early editions of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and information as to publications of Goebbels, Rosenberg, and other well-known Nazis, in the late 1920's and early 1930's; twenty-three additional papers of Mira L. Dock, 1926 to 1947; thirty-eight additional papers of Dr. Solomon R. Kagan, consisting mainly of letters to Dr. Kagan from eminent doctors, 1930 to 1946; two additional folders of papers of Lavinia L. Dock relating to the nursing profession, 1937 to 1947; additional papers of Philippe Bunau-Varilla, including correspondence, memorandums, and photographs; photostatic copies of sixteen additional papers of Lillian Everts, 1941 to 1947; photostatic copy of holograph draft of statement by General Douglas MacArthur regarding the fall of Corregidor, May 6, 1942; additional papers of the Writers' War Board consisting of three scrapbooks relating to various phases of the work of the Board, largely 1942 to 1944 (restricted); one carton and eight folders of additional editorial correspondence of *Harper's Magazine*, largely 1944; three cartons of additional papers of Gifford Pinchot, supplementing extensive earlier gifts.

Before the end of July, 1947, in compliance with the conditions laid down by the Honorable Robert T. Lincoln, the collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln deposited by him in the Library of Congress, "for the benefit of all of the people," will become available. Due public notice will be given. In the October number of the *Review* will appear a statement as to the opening of the collection.

Libraries not depositories of Library of Congress cards and private scholars in all fields who are interested in bibliography will greet with satisfaction the appearance in periodical form of a *Cumulative Catalog of Library of Congress Printed Cards*. The first issue is dated January, 1947. It will appear nine times a year and be cumulated quarterly and annually.

The National Archives has recently received several large bodies of important older records of the government. Among them are 129 letterbooks of the Postmasters General, 1789-1902; the records of the United States Mint at Philadelphia, 1793-1899, consisting of correspondence, including that relating to branch mints and assay offices (1833-73), and of records relating to deposits, assaying, refining, coinage, medals, and "housekeeping" activities; and Patent Office records relating to the granting of patents, 1836-1900. Six documents concerning the death of George Washington, which were discovered not long ago in the Capitol, have been received from the Library of Congress and added to the Senate files; they include two messages signed by John Adams. Arrangements have been made with

the State Department for the transfer to the National Archives of noncurrent records to 1936 of foreign service posts all over the world. It is estimated that there are 14,000 cubic feet of these records. The first installment of this transfer, including records of the legation at Sofia, 1912-35, and of the consulates at Calcutta, 1858-1929, Aden, 1887-1932, and Kunming, 1922-36, has already arrived. Original and exchange copies of treaties, with related papers, 1933-44, unperfected treaty files, 1933-40, and other international agreements, 1922-44, have also been received from the State Department. Other recent accessions of note include captured German documents from the Heeresarchiv at Potsdam, consisting of correspondence and other papers of von Winterfeldt, Frederick the Great, von Boyen, Scharnhorst, von Moltke, von Roon, von Gneisenau, von Seckt, von Schlieffen, von Ludendorff, von Groener, and von Krosigk and fragments from various German collections and exhibits, 1679-1945, received from the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department; the Adjutant General's Office file of War Department and Army orders, bulletins, and circulars, 1922-39; correspondence of Henry A. Wallace, 1941-45, relating chiefly to his activities as a member of several boards and committees while he was Vice-President, received from the Commerce Department; and Office of Price Control research and information files on foreign rationing and price-control policies and practices. The first in a series of inventories being prepared by the World War II Records Project of the National Archives has been published. It is an *Inventory of the Records of the Rubber Survey Committee, August-September, 1942*, compiled by Philip P. Brower. Other recent publications of the National Archives include a nontechnical statement on the agency, *The National Archives—What It Is and What It Does*, and a list of publications. A list of file microcopies of records in the National Archives, positive prints of which may be purchased, will be available in June. Copies of all these publications may be obtained from the Division of Exhibits and Publications, The National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

The executors of the estate of the late President have recently transferred to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library some 8,000 books, 5,000 photographs, 5,000 paintings, prints, engravings, and other pictures, and several hundred art and museum objects. This rich and important acquisition completes the transfer to the library of all the materials Mr. Roosevelt intended to give it except the papers that were in his White House files at the time of his death and certain family papers. These materials are still in the custody of the executors of the estate. The books recently received, which bring the total of books and pamphlets in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library to about 47,000, fall roughly into the classes of history, political science, biography, literature, and travel, and into several special groups. Mr. Roosevelt owned a large number of books on the period of Woodrow Wilson and World War I, and before his death he had acquired most of the important books on public affairs published during his presidency, including

virtually all publications of the federal government dealing with the programs, policies, and accomplishments of his administrations. The material on World War II is vast in amount and naturally includes many unique items such as special editions of reports bound and inscribed for the President and official publications with notations in Roosevelt's handwriting. It also includes publications of foreign governments issued during the war, sometimes by governments-in-exile, and a wide variety of domestic and foreign propaganda material, including posters and pamphlets. There are many books in the categories of Americana and local history, including a comprehensive collection of Dutchess County items in the form of genealogies, pamphlets, tracts, and memoirs. Mr. Roosevelt's large collection of children's books includes a number of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century English, French, and American rarities, but the cream of this collection consists of the curious, crudely illustrated "penny dreadfuls" of the period 1800-1860, which have also a distinct value as early American imprints. The collection is rich in books of travel, reflecting Mr. Roosevelt's curiosity and interest in foreign lands and peoples. In the field of Americana, he particularly treasured a number of nineteenth century guidebooks, travel accounts, and letters reflecting the impressions made by America upon her own people and upon her foreign visitors. Among the special groups are nineteenth century first editions of British and American authors, fine specimens of the printer's and binder's art, miniatures, and the books owned by Mr. Roosevelt as a child. The photographs received almost double the size of the collection of such materials in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. Mr. Roosevelt's interest in history in general and in American history and the history of his home county and native region in particular is well exhibited in the paintings, drawings, and prints received. Especially notable is an invaluable collection of political caricatures and cartoons dealing with incidents in British and United States history from the late eighteenth century to recent times. Of outstanding excellence in this group are about 200 English political caricatures for the period 1780-1800, known as the "Sayers' Caricatures," which deal with British internal politics, cabinet scandals, and social foibles. For the period after 1800 there are about 500 cartoons, lithographs, drawings, water colors, and engravings dealing with American politics, including rare lithographs of the Jackson-Tyler-Polk period by Currier and Ives and others, some material on Lincoln and the Civil War, several original ink and pastel Thomas Nast cartoons of the period 1880-1910, and a number of items about Roosevelt himself. Pictures of Hudson Valley subjects include fine lithographs of river views from the Highlands to Albany and of places along the river, together with a large number of early prints of New York City and New York harbor. Pictures of general historical interest include early engravings of Washington, D. C., and the White House; pictures of some of the more famous military events of our history, including an unusual series of World War I lithographs; portraits of the Presidents; and some early views of famous American scenic spots.

The Stanford University Library has acquired a collection of 45,000 colonial and early American newspapers from the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts. The collection contains several hundred complete volumes of the newspapers, the earliest dating back to 1762, and thousands of unbound issues including a continuous file of the Boston *Independent Chronicle*, followed by its successor the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, extending from 1775 to 1902. Stanford University has prepared a mimeographed list of all files included in this collection.

Mimeographed documentary material produced by the United Nations and not available for sale to the general public is being sent to the following libraries as depositories: Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut; Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island; New York Public Library, 476 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York; Columbia University Libraries, New York, New York; Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, Maryland; Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York; Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey; University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee; Louisiana State University Libraries, University Station, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas; University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago, Illinois; Northwestern University Libraries, Evanston, Illinois; Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio; St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, Missouri; General Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; University of Illinois Library, Urbana, Illinois; University of Minnesota Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado; University of California Library, Berkeley, California; Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University, California; University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California; Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, California; University of Washington Library, Seattle, Washington. In addition, this material goes to the Library of Congress and to major government libraries in Washington.

Since May, 1945, a Government Institute for War Documentation (*Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie*) has been functioning in the Netherlands as part of the Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences. Chief aim of this institute is to collect all material of interest for the history of the Netherlands in wartime. A separate section for the Netherlands East Indies was added in February, 1946. The institute already has a fine collection of underground publications and war diaries. Its offices are located at Amsterdam (Heerengracht 479) and The Hague (Pompstationsweg 7).

Students who are thinking of doing research and writing on any phase of recent naval history may address inquiries to the Director of Naval History, 1224 Navy Department, EXOS, Washington 25, D. C. Inquiries for the use of classified ma-

terial will be given consideration on an individual basis in accordance with security regulations.

The functions of the American University Union in London, which was closed down early last year, have been taken over by a special committee of the English-Speaking Union in charge of Mrs. Dorothy R. Dalton, who was for many years the executive secretary of the American University Union. The functions of the Union were to secure admission to British universities of properly prepared American candidates, to assist American students and professors going to England for private study or research, and to obtain for them access to outside libraries such as the reading room of the British Museum and the Public Records Office. Mrs. Dalton is in charge of the British-American Universities Enquiries Bureau, English-Speaking Union, Dartmouth House, 37 Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.1.

A bequest to Columbia University of over \$1,500,000 by the late Frederic Bancroft will be devoted to the strengthening of the university in the field of research material in American history. Reinhard H. Luthin has been made bibliographer in special charge of the project. The income of the fund is approximately \$38,000, ten per cent of which is reserved to be paid annually at the discretion of the university trustees as a prize to the author of a book or books of distinguished merit dealing with American history, diplomacy, or international relations.

The Tracy W. McGregor Library in the University of Virginia will issue in September its seventh publication, *The Dangers of Isolationism for North Carolina in 1788*, a reprinting of two rare pamphlets attributed to James Iredell, edited by Professor Hugh T. Lefler, of the University of North Carolina. Complimentary copies may be obtained by members of the Association who apply for them to the curator of the library in advance of publication.

The following Guggenheim fellowships for 1947-48 have been awarded for research in historical and related subjects: Sherman Kent, Yale University, a book on problems of national strategic intelligence operations, based upon wartime experience in the Office of Strategic Services; Charles L. Mowat, University of California at Los Angeles, a history of Great Britain from Armistice Day, 1918, to the evacuation of Dunkirk in 1940; Jack H. Hexter, Queens College, a study of change in the structure of sixteenth century European society; David V. Erdman, Detroit, a study of social change in England, 1789-1806, as it influenced and was influenced by the writers of the time; John Wendell Dodds, Stanford University, a book to be entitled "Biography of a Decade: 1841-1851," an attempt to create for those years in England a picture of the life of the times; Dorothy Burne Goebel, Hunter College, a study of the British Free Ports policy and the American West Indian interest, 1765-1815; Richard Brandon Morris, College of the City of New York, a study of the economic and legal status of free, indentured,

and slave labor in the United States before the Civil War; Daniel Aaron, Smith College, a study of the American Progressive tradition as seen in the writings of Theodore Parker, Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Henry Demarest Lloyd, Walter Rauschenbusch, William Dean Howells, and Thorstein Veblen; Robert Hayward Barlow, National School of Anthropology, Mexico City, studies, in Mexico, of the history of the empire of Montezuma; Rev. Alexander Joseph Denomy, jr., Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and University of Toronto, studies of the mystical philosophy of Avicenna and its importance in the medieval Christian world; Malcolm Francis McGregor, University of Cincinnati, studies in the history of the ancient Athenian empire; Paul Harold Beik, Swarthmore College, a study of conflicting social philosophies in the French Revolution; Edwin Morris Betts, University of Virginia, preparation of an edition of Thomas Jefferson's "Farm Book"; William Haller, Barnard College, preparation of a book on "Thought and Expression in the Puritan Revolution, 1640-1660"; Jeannette Mirsky, New York City, a study of Eli Whitney and of the impact of his inventive and business ability on the history of the United States; Shirley Graham, New York City, a book on Anne Newport Royall, 1769-1854, and her contribution to the American mind; Joseph Kinsey Howard, Great Falls, Montana, a book on the *métis* or "Halfbreed Nation" of the Northwestern United States and western Canada, 1860-1890; Paul Frankl, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, preparation of a history of Gothic architecture.

Among the recipients of grants in support of research given by the American Philosophical Society in 1947 the following have topics in or near the historical field: George M. Kahrl, Elmira College, preparation for publication of letters of David Garrick, 1717-1779; Carl Van Doren, New York City, critical edition of the correspondence of Benjamin Franklin and his sister, Jane Franklin Mecom; Helen Wright, Washington, D. C., life of George Ellery Hale; Oscar Jászi, Oberlin College, fundamental changes which have occurred in the Danubian region; Adolf Berger, New York City, encyclopedic dictionary of Roman law; Horst W. Janson, Washington University, inquiry into the role of apes and monkeys in the civilization of the Middle Ages and Renaissance in western Europe; Anne L. Hastings, Wellesley College, biography of Mary M. Emerson.

The Pulitzer Prize in history for 1946 has been awarded to James Phinney Baxter III for his *Scientists against Time* (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1947, p. 491). The prize in biography went to the *Autobiography of William Allen White*.

The Prix Francqui for 1946 (in the field of the humanities) has been awarded to François L. Ganshof, professor of medieval history at the University of Ghent, and successor in that chair to Henri Pirenne, the first recipient of the prize. The Prix carries a stipend of 100,000 francs.

The first award in the Alfred W. Stern Civil War essay contest, conducted

by the Illinois State Historical Library, has been given to Hubert G. Schmidt, assistant professor of history at the Newark Colleges of Rutgers University for a paper on "Jediah P. Alexander, Civil War Editor." Second place has been awarded a paper on "James T. Ayres, Civil War Recruiter" by Professor John Hope Franklin of North Carolina College at Durham. The judges were William B. Hesseltine, Milo M. Quaife, and T. Harry Williams.

The Committee on Research in Economic History of the Social Science Research Council announces the establishment of national fellowships in economic history for the academic years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 under the following terms: "(1) Graduate students in the United States and Canada who have completed at least one full year of graduate study are eligible; (2) Such students must be preparing or planning to prepare doctoral dissertations upon some significant aspect of one of the fields embraced in the committee's research program (which was published in the *Journal of Economic History*, IV [1944], 49-72). These fields are specifically the role of government in American economic development, the role of entrepreneurship in the same development, the evolution of the corporation in the United States, and the history of American banking. (3) Selection will be limited to those students who have indicated their intention to make teaching or research in economic history one of their major life interests; (4) Preference will be given students whose studies have bridged the fields of economics and history, who have acquired (or are preparing to acquire) training in economic theory, statistics, and accountancy, who have acquired (or plan to secure) training in historiography, and who have reading abilities in modern languages—here recognition being given, of course, to the fact that an individual applicant will not qualify upon all of these counts; and (5) The committee will award its fellowships only to young people of unusual ability, with a maximum of six persons to hold fellowships at any one time." Application forms will be supplied on request by the Fellowship Secretary, Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17. Applications for the years 1948-49 and 1949-50 must be completed and filed on or before March 31 prior to the academic year for which a fellowship is desired. Inquiries regarding these fellowships (other than the request for application forms) should be addressed to Professor Arthur H. Cole, Box 37, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

The Royal Historical Society announces the "David Berry Essay" competition to be held in 1949, the prize to be a gold medal and a cash award of £50, for the best essay dealing with Scottish history within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive. Subjects must be submitted previously and approved by the council of the society, and all essays must be delivered, prepaid and registered, to the secretary not later than October 31, 1949. Further information may be procured by application to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W.10.

The world of historical scholarship is richer for the revival of the *Scottish Historical Review*. The *Review* ceased publication in 1928 when Dr. James MacLehose gave up the editorship that he had carried for twenty-five years, through an even one hundred issues. Thomas Nelson and Sons, Edinburgh, are the publishers. The able editorial board is a guarantee that the standards of the past will be maintained. Two issues per year is the present modest goal.

The first issue of *American Heritage*, a quarterly journal sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History, has appeared. The new periodical deals exclusively with the teaching of local community history in schools, historical societies, or museums. The annual subscription is \$1.50, or \$1.00 to members of the sponsoring association. The editor is Miss Mary Cunningham, who has had much experience in this field. The address is *American Heritage*, Cooperstown, New York.

The Société d'Histoire Moderne has been reorganized in Paris. It is issuing occasional bulletins about its meetings with added reviews of current books and articles. It is hoped that the publication of the *Revue* may be resumed. Without government aid the society and the *Revue* will depend wholly on public support. Memberships and additional support are solicited in this country. The membership fee is \$1.50. Mrs. R. S. McMillan, 526 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts, is the designated representative of the society in this country.

In six volumes entitled *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Vatican City, 1946) the world of scholarship has paid fitting tribute on his eightieth birthday to Cardinal Giovanni Mercati, prefect of the Vatican Library. One hundred and forty-seven scholars from twenty countries and various faiths have contributed studies in the several fields of Cardinal Mercati's own research. The general subjects are (1) Bibbia e Letteratura Cristiana Antica, (2) Letteratura Medioevale, (3) Letteratura e Storia Bizantina, (4) Letteratura Classica e Umanistica, (5) Storia Ecclesiastica e Diritto, and (6) Paleografia, Bibliografia e Varia. While each study is a contribution in its own right, it is also an implicit expression of appreciation for the help and inspiration derived from a great scholar and a generous and wise administrator of the treasures of the Pontifical Library. Among American contributors are M. L. W. Laistner, Lynn Thorndike, Charles H. Beeson, Leslie W. Jones, W. W. Bishop, and Berthold L. Ullman. Perhaps one should add the honorary member of this Association, Gaetano de Sanctis. The price of the six volumes is set provisionally at \$36.00.

Léon van der Essen, who for thirty-five years has taught in the University of Louvain, was honored in a special ceremony on April 11. Colleagues, friends, and former students presented him with his portrait painted by M. Buisseret and a two-volume *Miscellanea* containing some eighty papers contributed by as many

scholars from his wide circle of friends. Professor Albert Hyma of the University of Michigan represents the United States with an essay on "Erasmus in Brabant." The subscription price of the two volumes, produced by Les Presses de Belgique, Brussels, is 500 Belgian francs.

Personal

Thomas J. Wertenbaker, who retired in June from Princeton University where he has been a member of the department of history since 1910, will take up residence in Williamsburg, Virginia, in September to begin work on a history of Colonial Williamsburg. Dr. Wertenbaker, a native of Virginia, has been closely associated with the project since its inception.

The University of Michigan granted leave of absence for the second semester of 1946-47 to Professor Albert Hyma to complete research on *Devotio Moderna*, a medieval religious movement, and for further study on Hugo Grotius. Professor Arthur L. Dunham will be on leave for the academic year 1947-48 and will continue research on the industrial history of France, 1815-1848.

Frederick H. Cramer, head of the department of history at Mount Holyoke College, has been granted a leave of absence for the second semester of 1947-48 for study in Paris and Rome. During his stay in Europe Professor Cramer will do some research on Greek and Latin scientific manuscripts for the American Philosophical Society.

Arthur J. May, junior professor of history, University of Rochester, has been granted leave of absence for the second semester of 1947-48. He will carry on research in London, Vienna, and Berlin.

Melvin C. Wren has been granted a year's leave of absence from Montana State University, to begin at the end of the summer session, to carry on research in England.

Philip Wayne Powell, professor of American and Latin-American history in Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, has received a grant-in-aid from the Department of State to enable him to serve as visiting lecturer on American history at the cultural centers in Quito, Ecuador, and Santiago, Chile. Dr. Powell left the United States on March 25 and will remain in Latin America for approximately six months.

Henry E. Sigerist, professor and director of the Institute of the History of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University, has resigned. Professor Sigerist will return to Switzerland to engage in his own private research and writing on an eight-volume history of medicine.

Isabel Calder of Wells College has been granted sabbatical leave for the year

1947-48. Ruth MacIntyre has been appointed lecturer in history, to substitute for Miss Calder in American history.

Crane Brinton, professor of ancient and modern history at Harvard University, gave the annual lectures on the Joseph Horsfall Johnson Foundation at Pomona College in March.

Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky delivered the Walter Lynwood Fleming lectures on Southern history on March 24, 25, and 26. His theme was the "Southern Country Editor." These lectures are sponsored annually by the graduate school and department of history of Louisiana State University.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS

Thomas N. Hoover, of Ohio University, retired in June after forty years of service. A. T. Volwiler has been appointed to succeed him as chairman of the department of history.

Max Savelle of Stanford University has accepted a professorship in history in the University of Washington.

Arthur S. Aiton, professor of Hispanic-American history in the University of Michigan, is a visiting lecturer attached to the cultural center of the United States in Bogotá, Colombia. His tenure is for six months, from February to August, 1947.

Frank L. Owsley of Vanderbilt University is visiting professor of history at the University of Maryland summer session. Wesley M. Gewehr of the University of Maryland has gone to the University of New Mexico as visiting professor of history for the summer session.

Nathaniel Cooper Kendrick, of the department of history, Bowdoin College, has been appointed dean of the college to succeed Paul Nixon.

F. V. Scholes, formerly a staff member of the division of historical research, Carnegie Institution of Washington, is now dean of the graduate school and professor of history in the University of New Mexico.

George Dewey Harmon, professor of American history at Lehigh University, has been appointed head of the department of history and government.

Lewis G. Vander Velde has been appointed chairman of the department of history in the University of Michigan, to succeed A. E. R. Boak, who resigned the chairmanship about a year ago.

Cornelius Krusé of Wesleyan University has been appointed executive director of the American Council of Learned Societies. Mr. Krusé will assume his duties early in September.

Stewart Mitchell, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has been appointed director of the Massachusetts Historical Society to succeed the late Allyn Bailey Forbes. Dr. Mitchell was editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1929 to 1939, and he served from 1927 to 1937 as managing editor of the *New England Quarterly*.

William E. Baringer has resigned as executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association to become associate professor of history in the University of Florida. He is succeeded by Dr. Roy P. Basler, who will edit the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* and the projected "Complete Writings of Lincoln." Dr. Basler was born in Missouri and took his doctor's degree at Duke University. He taught at the University of Arkansas and since 1946 had been head of the English department at George Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee.

Russell H. Anderson, formerly curator in the Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago, has been appointed director of the Western Reserve Historical Society, succeeding the late Elbert J. Benton. Dr. Anderson assumed his duties in Cleveland on January 1.

Colonial Williamsburg announces the appointment of two new members of its division of education: John C. Goodbody, formerly of Harvard University, as director of publications, and Richard K. Showman, formerly of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, as assistant to the director of education.

Hans Kohn of Smith College is visiting professor of history at Yale University for the summer term of 1947.

Robert Leroy Hildrup, professor of history at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, will teach at the University of Delaware during the second term of the summer session.

Willson H. Coates, associate professor of history, University of Rochester, will serve as visiting professor of history for the academic year 1947-48 at Sarah Lawrence College.

Wellesley College announces the promotion of Henry F. Schwarz to associate professor and John Hewitt Mitchell to assistant professor of history. Miss Evelyn Faye Wilson, associate professor of medieval history, has been awarded the first faculty research fellowship for the year 1947-48.

Arthur E. Bestor has accepted an appointment as associate professor of history in the University of Illinois.

W. Turrentine Jackson, of Iowa State College, is teaching in the summer session at the University of Texas.

The historical research section of the Air University, Montgomery, Alabama, announces the appointment of the following members of its staff: Woodford A. Heflin, economic resources; Hilton P. Goss, air intelligence; Raymond Estep, Far East; Robert W. Schmidt, air defense; Charles M. Thomas, air transport.

Harold Larson, formerly senior historian of the Army Transportation Corps in World War II, is now in Korea as chief historian of the Twenty-fourth Corps under Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge. Dr. Larson was formerly on the staff of the National Archives.

Louis C. Jones has been appointed director of the New York State Historical Association.

J. Adger Stewart has been elected president of the Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky. He succeeds R. C. Ballard Thruston, who died December 30, 1946.

James W. Moffitt of Bessie Tift College, Forsyth, Georgia, is a member of the staff of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College this summer.

William J. Newman has been appointed instructor in history at Pomona College, effective September, 1947.

William M. Geer is teaching in the summer session of George Washington University. He will go to the University of North Carolina in the fall as instructor in history.

RECENT DEATHS

Annie H. Abel Henderson died March 14 after a long illness, in Aberdeen, Washington. She was born seventy-four years ago in Fernhurst, Sussex, England. She came to the United States when twelve years old and obtained her early education in Salina, Kansas. She received her bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Kansas and studied later at Cornell and at Yale, where she earned her doctorate in 1905. She held a Bulkley fellowship at Yale and the Alice Freeman Palmer fellowship awarded by the American Association of University Women. She made British and American policy toward the Indians her special field. Her first publication, *A History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi*, was awarded the Justin Winsor Prize in 1906. In the ensuing years appeared a succession of volumes on the American Indian as slaveholder, as a participant in the Civil War, and again under Reconstruction. She edited the journals of such frontier traders as Francis Chardon, John Sibley, and Pierre Tabeau. From papers in the Indian Office she published the correspondence of James S. Calhoun, Indian agent at Sante Fe and first territorial governor of New Mexico. These and articles and reviews in the *American Historical Review* and other periodicals made her the acknowledged leader in a field she entered with her master's thesis at the University of Kansas in 1900. Much of this work was

carried on while holding teaching appointments first at Wells College, 1905-1906, Goucher, 1906-1915, and Smith, 1915-1922. It was all based on wide researches in repositories in this country and in England and Canada. In retirement and despite ill health she was active in British relief in World War II and was decorated for her services by the British government. She has left her library, manuscripts, and notes not given earlier to the Library of Congress or the University of British Columbia, to Washington State College at Pullman. She had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1903.

Cecil Eden Quainton, professor of European history at the University of Washington in Seattle, died on April 10 in his forty-sixth year. He was born in England and educated in Canada at the University of Manitoba and in England at Queens' College, Cambridge. In 1924 he joined the faculty of the University of Washington where his reputation for effective and stimulating teaching quickly earned for him the respect and admiration of his students and colleagues. In 1946 he was invited to be visiting professor of history at El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico City, an assignment from which he returned three months before his death. He gave generously of his time and energy to the Council of Foreign Relations and the Northwest Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. A man of singular charm of personality and a teacher of rare skill he was esteemed and cherished by a large number of friends and admirers in the university, the community, and the historical profession.

Richard Heath Dabney, professor of history at the University of Virginia for many years, died at his home in Charlottesville on May 16, 1947. Born in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1860, he grew to manhood during the trials of war and reconstruction. He was the son of Virginius Dabney, a captain in the Confederate service, and a noted educator and author (*Don Miff*), who was able to give him every educational advantage. Receiving his M.A. degree from the University of Virginia in 1881, he continued his studies at the universities of Berlin, Munich, and Heidelberg, and received the Ph.D. degree from Heidelberg in 1885. From 1886 until 1889 he served as professor of history at Indiana University. In 1889 he returned to the University of Virginia as adjunct professor; ten years later he was made associate professor, and attained full professorial rank in 1897. From 1905 until 1923 he served as dean of the department of graduate studies, and in 1938 retired at the age of seventy-eight. With his passing, the university has lost one of its most beloved members. His former students, Professor Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker among others, will long remember his zeal for knowledge and for truth, and the high intellectual standards which he unswervingly maintained. But it was his character perhaps which most impressed those who knew him best. No man could have been stauncher in his convictions, yet none was ever more gentle. He was loyal, generous, and sincere, and all who knew him felt a deep respect and affection for a man in whom there was no guile. He embodied

all that was most admirable and pleasing in the old-school Virginia gentleman, with whom honor came first and human kindness close behind.

Brigadier General Oliver L. Spaulding, soldier and military historian, died in Washington, March 27, in his seventy-first year. He entered the Army after graduating from the University of Michigan in 1895 and from the law school in 1896. In 1938 the same university conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws. General Spaulding saw service in China in 1900 and in the Philippine insurrection and on the Mexican border. In the first World War he commanded an artillery brigade in France; for his services he was decorated by both the American and French governments. From 1919 to 1924 and again from 1935 to 1939 he was chief of the historical section of the Army War College. In the latter year he was retired for age but was recalled during World War II. He lectured on military history before the Lowell Institute and at Harvard and George Washington universities. Among his writings in his special field the better known titles are *Warfare: A Study of Military Methods from the Earliest Times* (second edition, 1937) and *The United States Army in War and Peace* (1937).

Allen Richards Boyd died on March 30. For almost forty years he was on the staff of the Library of Congress, retiring as executive assistant in 1936. For many years he was an interested member of the American Historical Association and of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain. Mr. Boyd entered public service as secretary to the Secretary of Interior in President Cleveland's second administration. He was seventy-nine at the time of his death.

George Talbot Hunt, head of the department of history, Cleveland College, Western Reserve University, died on April 18 at the age of forty-eight years.

We record with regret the death of three veteran members of the Association: Irving Fisher, professor emeritus of economics in Yale University; E. Arthur Ball, formerly of Muncie, Indiana; and Dean Theodore Sullivan Cox, of the law school of the College of William and Mary. The first two were life members.

Admiral Sir Herbert W. Richmond, K.C.B., died December 15, 1946, at the age of seventy-five. Admiral Richmond had a distinguished service career but will be best remembered as an outstanding authority in the field of naval strategy and history. In these subjects he had many published studies to his credit. At the time of his death he was Master of Downing College, Cambridge, a position he accepted in 1936.

James Garvin, for thirty-five years editor of the *Observer*, London Sunday newspaper, editor of the fourteenth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and author of a life of Joseph Chamberlain, which appeared in three volumes, died on January 23 at the age of seventy-nine.

Henri Lemaître, eminent French librarian, medievalist, and editor of the *Revue d'histoire franciscaine*, 1924-1936, died at Sceaux near Paris, November 8, 1946.

Nellie Neilson, professor emeritus of history in Mt. Holyoke College, died May 26. A more adequate memoir will appear in the October number.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The new approach to the history of the great migrations that Reynolds and Lopez suggest in their article "Odoacer: German or Hun?"¹ will be welcomed as a corrective to the exclusively "German" point of view that has prevailed for the last three generations. To some German historians it appeared self-evident that every barbarian who distinguished himself in one way or another must have been a German. Reynolds and Lopez take a "Hunnish" point of view. Instead of the Germanic etymologies traditionally offered they propose Ural-Altaic etymologies. They regard the Thorcilingi as Turks. According to them Odovacar was a royal Hun. The military adventurers who made themselves masters of Italy in 476 were a racially mixed multitude, dominated by the Turkish Thorcilingi.

Our sources of information about Odovacar and his followers are poverty itself. Since the discovery of a few more fragments of John of Antioch in 1839 no new texts have been found. It is unlikely that new epigraphic material will come to light. The coins that at rare intervals are plowed up are all of the same type. The chances that we will ever have more evidence than now are slim. But the interpretation of it can possibly be deepened.

There can be no doubt that in their relationships with the Huns and Alans the Germanic tribes were as often the takers as the givers. Hunnic princes bore Germanic names, but Germanic princes flattened the heads of their children like the Huns and Alans. The Huns took over the Alanic armor² and the Goths the Alanic lasso.³ The syncretistic character of the Hunnic-Germanic-Alanic civilization in Attila's empire is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that so far all attempts to determine what Hunnic art was have failed.⁴

Among the mercenaries who proclaimed Odovacar king there were possibly, even probably, Huns. But there is no evidence that Odovacar was a Hun himself. The sources which Reynolds and Lopez adduce, and those which they ignore, prove just the opposite.

According to Jordanes, Odovacar was king of the Thorcilingi and Rogi. The Thorcilingi, say Reynolds and Lopez, appear in the extant sources twice, in Jordanes and in the *Historia Miscella* of Landulphus Sagax. Landulphus is said to have listed them with the nations which under Attila's command took part in the battle of Châlons. "In the list of Landulphus, the Thorcilingi appear jointly with the Sciri" (*loc. cit.*, p. 38).

¹ *American Historical Review*, LII (October, 1946), 36-53.

² Hunnic armor is mentioned in Claudian c. VII, 289-92; Procop, VI, 2, 22; perhaps in Asterius of Amasea, "Homily on S. Phocas," Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 40, 313.

³ The lasso was a specific Iranian weapon. Cf. Herodot, VII, 85; Mela, I, 19, 17; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, VII, 250; Pausanias, I, 21, 5. Arcobindus used the lasso κατά τὸ Γοτθικὸν ἔθος. Malalas, ed. by Bonn, XIV, 364.

⁴ Cf. O. Maenchen-Helfen, "Huns and Hsiung-nu," *Byzantion*, XVII (1945), 238-43.

This is a double mistake. It is not Landulphus but Paulus Diaconus who mentioned *Turcilingi* among the subjects of the Hunnic king.⁵ Book XV of Landulphus' *Historia Romana* is a literal copy of Book XIV of Paulus' *Historia Romana*.⁶ And Paulus says nothing about the Sciri. He speaks of *Turcilingi sive Rugi*.⁷

The Thorcilingi appear, thus, only in Jordanes. However, this is no reason to conjecture with the two authors that they might be Turks. The Grannii, Augandzi, Eunixi, and Ranii also occur only in the *Getica*. Nobody ever doubted that these Scandinavians were Germanic. The *ing*-suffix is so common in Germanic tribal names that it alone would compel us to regard the Thorcilingi as a Germanic group.⁸ The postulated Ural-Altaic etymologies are a mere play with assonances. With "a little metathesis" (*loc. cit.*, n. 12) any name can be equated with any other name. Reynolds and Lopez compare Thorcilingi with Togrul, a Turkish name first mentioned in the eleventh century, *i.e.*, half a millennium after Odovacar. They think Thorcilingi could be *Türk-lük*. But *Thorci-* could equally well be compared with Torekkadae, Tyragetae, Tyriktake, or any other name from Scythia that sounds similar.

Odovacar was the leader of Heruli, Rugi, Sciri, and Thorcilingi. Reynolds and Lopez are not quite convinced that the Heruli were Germans. "Most of the personal names of their leaders baffle German philologists." "Names which 'sound' perhaps Dacian were Andonnoballus, Datus, Faras, Alvith, for which neither Förstemann nor Schoenfeld offers a Germanic etymology or can offer one only on the supposition that Greek sources misspelled the name. Only Halaricus, Rodvulf, and Fulcaris yield results to Germanic etymology" (*loc. cit.*, p. 42 and n. 21).

Schönfeld, to whose *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* the authors refer, offers Germanic etymologies not only for Faras and Alvith but also for Fanotheus, Filimuth, Hariso, Sindval, Svartva, Uligangus, and Visandus.⁹ Other Germanic names of the Heruli, not listed in Schönfeld, are Sindila,¹⁰ Batemodus,¹¹ and Cunthia.¹²

Like the Heruli the Rugi were not "probably" (*loc. cit.*, p. 43) but most certainly a Germanic tribe. Odovacar was, according to Jordanes, *genere Rogus*, in Reynolds' and Lopez' translation "of the stock of Rogus." They connect this Rogus with Rogas, one of the Hunnic kings before Attila, and conjecture that Odovacar was of the royal clan of Rogas.

Rogus appears in codex L as *Rugus*. In *Getica* 291 Odovacar is called *rex Thorcilingorum Rogorumque*. The codices H, P, and V have *rogorumque*, A has *rugorumque*, O and B have *et rugorum*. In *Getica* 277 Jordanes speaks of the *gens Rugorum*. He writes Romolus for Romulus, Eoropa for Europa, Aristobolus for Aristobulus. The Greeks called the Rugians either Rogoi or Rugoi. It is more than

⁵ XIV, 2, *M.G.H., Auct. Ant.*, II, 201, 14.

⁶ The passage in Landulphus, XV, 2 (*Historia Romana*, ed. by A. Crivelluci, II, 4, 10) is, letter for letter, identical with Paulus, XIV, 2.

⁷ Reynolds and Lopez refer not to an edition of Landulphus but to Wietersheim-Dahn, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, II, 245. In Wietersheim the quotation from Landulphus is correct. Unfortunately this is not the only case of carelessness on the part of Reynolds and Lopez.

⁸ Cf. Greetingi, Tervingi, Silingi, Thuringi, ags. Lidwicingas, Myrgingas, etc.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 85, 87, 128, 208, 219, 245, 267.

¹⁰ *Senator de numero Herulorum*, Dessau, 2796.

¹¹ *Ducenarius de numero Erulorum*, cf. O. Fiebiger and L. Schmidt, *Akad. Wiss. Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften*, 60, 3 (1917), 143.

¹² *De numero Herulorum*, cf. Fiebiger and Schmidt, 70, 3 (1939), 44.

evident that *Rogus* is the same as *Rugus*. Jordanes certainly wrote a queer sort of Latin, but *genere Rogus* means even in the most debased Latin "by origin a Rogus," that is "a Rugian."

There was no Hunnic prince by the name of Rogas. Jordanes has Roas, the *Chronica Gallica* of 551 Ruga, that of 492 Rugila, Socrates Scholasticus Rugas, Theodor Roilas, and Priscus Ruas.¹³ These forms lead to Ruga > Rua and a hypocoristic Rugila > Ruila. The "Rugian" Odovacar has about as much to do with the Hunnic prince as he does, for example, with the *consularis* Rogatianus, namely nothing.

The most reliable source for the history of Odovacar is John of Antioch. According to him Odovacar was a Scirian. The name of Odovacar's father was Idiko, that of his brother Onoulphus.¹⁴ This is confirmed by the Anonymus Valesii¹⁵ and Eugippius.¹⁶ Edica and Hunuulphus were *primates Scirorum* (*Getica*, 277). There can be no reasonable doubt about Odovacar's Scirian origin. But who were the Scirians?

Reynolds and Lopez offer, for a change, not an Ural-Altaic but an Iranian etymology. They connect the name with Persian *shir*, "milk" or "lion." It would be difficult to suggest a more farfetched etymology.

Marcellinus Comes called Odovacar significantly *rex Gothorum*.¹⁷ The Heruli and Rugians were Germans. So were the Scirians as proved by the names of their leaders.

If all we knew about Odovacar were his name, he could be an Alan, a German, a Hun, or anything. Patricius, Ardabur, and Herminericus were not a Roman, an Alan, and a German respectively, but three brothers, the sons of Aspar and his Gothic wife.¹⁸ Tutizar and Apsikal were Goths,¹⁹ not, as their names would indicate,²⁰ Huns. The Alaman Mederichus changed his son's original name, Agenarichus, to Serapio.²¹ Bleda was the name of Attila's brother,²² a bishop of the Vandals²³ and an Ostrogothic general.²⁴ The examples could be easily multiplied. But, if not only Odovacar but also his father, his brother, and his son had Germanic names, they must have been Germans.

Reynolds and Lopez call Odovacar "Odoacer." Fifty years ago Hodgkin pointed out that the true contemporary spelling of the name is Odovacar.²⁵ To the testimony of the coins, the deed of gift to Pierius, and the spelling of the name in the contemporary Ennodius now the lead tessera with its *Salvo d(omino) n(ostro) Zenone et domno Odovacre* can be added.²⁶ One would like to know in which

¹³ Cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (Budapest, 1943), II, 222-23.

¹⁴ Fragment 209, *Exc. de insidiis*, ed. by de Boor, p. 131.

¹⁵ *Pater Edico dictus*, pp. 10, 45.

¹⁶ Vita S. Severini c. 44.

¹⁷ Repeated in *Getica*, 243. Isidorus calls Odovacar king of the Ostrogoths. *M.G.H., Auct. Ant.*, XI, 283, 4. What Theophanes says is, thus, not "contradicted by all the earlier writers" (Reynolds and Lopez, *loc. cit.*, p. 38, n. 9).

¹⁸ O. Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, II, 606-10.

¹⁹ Cassiodor, *Variae*, IV, 27; John of Antioch, fragm. 214e, *Exc. de insidiis*, p. 142.

²⁰ Cf. Chalazar, Procop, VII, 30, 6; Zarter, *ibid.*, V, 16, 1. Apsich was the name of (1) a Hun (Theophylactus Simmoccata, I, 14, 5; II, 3, 1); (2) an Avar (Menander, *Exc. de legat.*, ed. by de Boor, 220, 459, Theophylactus Simmoccata, VIII, 5, 5).

²¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, VII, 5, 1.

²² Schönfeld, p. 51.

²³ Priscus, *Exc. de legat.*, 151, 152 (not in Schönfeld).

²⁴ Schönfeld, p. 51.

²⁵ Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders* (Oxford, 1896), III, 122.

²⁶ Fiebiger and Schmidt, p. 4.

onomastic dictionary of the German tongues Reynolds and Lopez found Odovacar with a question mark in place of an etymology (*loc. cit.*, p. 45). Schönfeld (p. 176) explains Odovacar as Aud(a)-wakrs,²⁷ an etymology that is universally accepted. Reynolds and Lopez equate "Odoacer" with "Otcār," one of Attila's uncles. But "Otcār" does not exist. Jordanes (*Getica*, 180) mentions Attila's father Mundzucus, *cuius fuere germani Otcār et Roas*. All the codices, without any exception, have Otcār.²⁸

According to Reynolds and Lopez "there is no palaeographic reason to prefer either of these forms [namely Otcār and the nonexistent Otcār], unless further evidence should tip the balance. As a matter of fact, such evidence is available. There is a fragment of a Greek chronicler, quoted by a later grammarian, which presents us with a Hunnic name more or less halfway between an Otcār and an Odoacer: 'Odigar, the supreme ruler of the Huns, died' " (*loc. cit.*, p. 44).

The "later grammarian" is the lexicographer Suidas and the Greek chronicler Menander Protector. Menander says nothing about "Odigar." What he says is: "In this way the supreme leader," etc. In 1829 Niebuhr emended ὁδὶ γάρ into Ὠδὶγαρ. Neither J. Bekker nor G. Bernhardt nor Ada Adler in the authoritative edition of Suidas followed Niebuhr in this wild conjecture, which has nothing whatever to recommend it.

Not content to equate Odovacar with two Greek particles and a nonexistent Hun, Reynolds and Lopez identify Odovacar with Adovacrius, the leader of a band of Saxon pirates on the Loire about whom Gregory of Tours preserved a confused account. It obviously escaped Reynolds and Lopez that this identification was first proposed by Buat in 1772 and only hesitatingly upheld by Gibbon. All later scholars dropped it as too fantastic to deserve serious consideration.²⁹ Reynolds and Lopez confuse the battle of Châlons in 451 with that of Orléans in 463. They emend *Saxonibus* into *Sciris*, assuming that *ci* became *a*, *r* was changed into *x*, and *ir* was confused with *ibus*; where the *on* came from we do not learn. If, as they assume, Odovacar stayed in Gaul after Attila's defeat in 451 and went therefrom to Italy, the Odovacar who talked with S. Severin in Noricum must have been his double.

The name of Odovacar's father was Edica, a hypocoristic form, applied to persons whose true name began with Ed-, e.g., Edivulf. Edekon, one of the most intimate counselors of Attila, was "by birth a Hun," but he had a Germanic name. Edekon is the Grecized form of Edica.³⁰ Various scholars have thought the Scirian chieftain Edica to be the Hun Edekon.³¹ The mere identity of the names is, of course, no proof for the identity of the two barbarians. Theoderic the Great, Theoderic Strabo, both Ostrogoths, and the Vandal Theoderic, Huneric's brother, were contemporaries. Alaric, king of the Suavi, and Alaric, king of the Visigoths,

²⁷ Cf. names like Odoïn, Odotheus, Odvulf, Wacca, Vaccarus, Vacimos.

²⁸ Jordanes' Otcār is the Uptaros of Socrates Scholasticus. Cf. Moravcsik, II, 204.

²⁹ E.g. F. Martroye, *Genséric* (Paris, 1907), p. 203; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1928), I, 346; F. Lot, *Les invasions germaniques* (Paris, 1935), p. 129.

³⁰ Cf. Stilicho=Stilika.

³¹ It is not quite correct to say that the identity of Edica and Edekon is "more or less taken for granted by all who have touched the problem" (Reynolds and Lopez, *loc. cit.*, p. 48). Not only A. Juris, quoted by Reynolds and Lopez evidently from A. Nagl's article in Pauly-Wissowa, but also G. Sievers, *Studien zur Geschichte der römischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1870), p. 533, and especially R. Pallmann, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung* (Weimar, 1864), II, 167-68, rejected the identification. Henri de Valois did not "recognize" Edekon as Odovacar's father; he merely said, in his notes to the Anonymus, "*Aedico esse videtur Edeco legatus Attilae*." Tillemont was not at all as positive as Reynolds and Lopez say ("*il se pourroit bien . . . quelque fût le père d'Odoacre . . .*").

lived at the same time, but they were not identical. In Attila's farflung empire not two, but twenty or a hundred Edicas may have lived. There is no more reason to declare Odovacar a Hun because there was a Hun Edekon than to regard Edekon as a German because of his name and to see in him Odovacar's father.³²

The name of Odovacar's brother appears in our sources as Hunuulfus,³³ Onoulfus,³⁴ Onulphos,³⁵ and Unulfus.³⁶ Reynolds' and Lopez' "Hunoulphus" (*loc. cit.*, p. 49) is another one of their synthetic names. It cannot be decided whether the initial *h* in Hunuulfus is prosthetic³⁷ or whether it has been dropped in the other forms.³⁸ However, let us assume that the correct form is Hunuulf, composed of *hun* and *wulf*. Reynolds and Lopez interpret Hunwulf as "wolf of the Huns" and see in the element "wolf" an allusion to the she-wolf from which the Hsiung-nu traced their origin. This is ingenious. But it is wrong.

First, the identity of the Hsiung-nu in Mongolia with the Huns is far from being proved as I recently tried to show.³⁹ Second, even if *hun* in Germanic names of the type Hunwulf would mean Hun, Hunwulf could not be translated as "wolf of the Huns." "Most composed names can be translated, but the translation often makes nonsense. The men who coined the names Frithuwulf, 'peace-wolf,' and Wigfrith, 'war-peace,' were not concerned with their meaning."⁴⁰ If Hunwulf were "the wolf of the Huns," Huneric, king of the Vandals, would be "the king of the Huns" and the Visigoth Evervulfus "the wolf of the boar." Third, it has been long recognized that the element *hun* in Germanic names cannot be the ethnic name Hun.⁴¹ Fourth, *wulf* appears in Gothic names (Achiulf, Oduulf, Wulfila) long before the Huns came to the Ukraine. Fifth, if the element *wolf* in a name would connect its bearer with the Huns, names like Lykoleon or Timolykos would compel us to regard the Athenians as related to the ancestors of Attila.

There remains the name of Odovacar's son. John of Antioch calls him Oklan. Oklan is, in John's text, an accusative; the nominative was, therefore, probably Oklas. Reynolds and Lopez compare Oklan with Turkish oghlan, "youth" (*loc. cit.*, p. 49). This is interesting but beside the point, for OKLAN is simply a corrupt reading of ΘΗΛΑΝ as Theodor Mommsen recognized seventy-four years ago.⁴² We read in the Anonymus Valesii II, 54: *Odoacer dedit filium suum Thelanem obsidem Theoderico*. The nominative of Thelanem is Thela, *cf.* the accusative Totilanem in Jordanes, *Romana* 381, and the genitive Attilanis in *Getica* 209, 301. Thela is a good Germanic name.⁴³

To summarize: the Ural-Altaic etymologies offered by Reynolds and Lopez are untenable. Those which, at the first glance, look most convincing turn out, on closer investigation, to be based on misreadings of the sources (Otcar, Odigar,

³² In the context in which the name appears in Priscus, "Hun" could very well mean "barbarian" as opposed to "Roman." *Cf.* Hodgkin, II, 517: "The word 'a Hun by birth' need not, perhaps, be interpreted with ethnological precision."

³³ *Getica*, 277.

³⁴ Vita Severini, c. 44; Onoulphos in Malchus, *H.G.M.*, 394, 395.

³⁵ Malchus, *Exc. de legat.*, p. 159.

³⁶ *Chron. Gallica*, V, 670.

³⁷ As in Halaricus, Hermanaricus, etc.

³⁸ As in Ilderichus, Ulmerugi, etc.

³⁹ *Cf. loc. cit.*, pp. 222-43.

⁴⁰ F. M. Stenton, quoted H. B. Woolf, *The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving* (Baltimore, 1939), p. 25; *cf.* also H. Bradley, *The Story of the Goths* (New York and London, 1888), p. 368.

⁴¹ *Cf.* F. P. Magoun in *Medieval Studies*, VII (1945), 100.

⁴² *Gesammelte Schriften*, VII, 723.

⁴³ *Cf.* Schönfeld, p. 225.

Oklan). The existing historical and linguistic evidence leaves no doubt that Odovacar and his hosts were not Huns but Germans.

Mills College

OTTO MAENCHEN-HELFEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

We must be grateful to Professor Maenchen-Helfen for restating so patently the position of the unflinching Germanizer, to whom it appears self-evident that every barbarian who distinguished himself must have been a German in his inner being, no matter how deeply influenced by Huns or Alans as to children's heads and weapons. According to that approach, the identity of the Hunnic name Edekon with the Scirian name Edica does not indicate that both names were Hunnic, but the resemblance of the Scirian or Torcilingian accusative name Thelanem with the Gothic accusative name Totilanem proves that both were German;¹ the derivation of Sciri from Gothic *skéirs* is obvious so there is no call to look into Slavonic, Baltic, or Ural-Altaic, while the suggestion that it might be related to Pahlavi *shīr* is absurd.

We presented all of the scraps of available evidence and showed that regarding Odoacer and some of the peoples he led such historical material pointed rather toward a non-Germanic than a Germanic origin. In the face of that evidence there still persists an unmovable contrary belief bolstered by a shelfful of internally consistent if often farfetched Germanic etymologies which persuade unwary researchers because of their apparent weight and substance. What lends them such weight is their own assumption that the history of the times was overwhelmingly Germanic history. It was not, and with that understanding the etymologies in turn cease to sustain the theory that it was.

Nor are the etymologies themselves invulnerable when closely examined. It is held against us quite properly that we play with assonances, that we suppose a name to derive from a given race and then on the hypothesis that its earlier home is to be placed in a given area that we scratch around until we can hook our name to that area and to such a race. It is, however, precisely the method of the weighty and substantial Germanic etymologies; a good sample is by chance at hand to illustrate the point: "The Granni, Augandzi, Eunixi, and Rani; [one could have added, as they appear in the same context: Taetel, Rugi, Arochi; but the text is unsure though they are in the Mommsen edition] also occur only in the *Getica*. Nobody ever doubted that these Scandinavians were Germanic." Actually here is what one starts with when investigating these names: A man who claimed he had been King Rodvulf appeared at Theodoric's court and boasted about the peoples he had ruled back home. His list has been cherished as a precious light upon the early Germanic North. Accepting him at face value and determined to locate whatever in Scandinavia sounded like the names listed, German scholars in a century of work played with assonances and seized upon attested names which reach us from the ninth century (nearly half a millennium away), the eleventh century (over half), and even the modern dialects (one and a

¹ For a series of names with a special *-anis*, *-ani*, *-anem* declension when done into Latin cf. Schönfeld, introd., pp. xxiv-v. Besides Totila and Thela it includes Attila and other names of true Huns or of men from within the Hunnic orbit. Schütte, *Our Forefathers* (Eng. trans., Cambridge, 1929), I, 66, points out: "In medieval German legends non-Gothonic persons are often distinguished by the addition of the suffix *-in* or *-an*. . . . Etzelin and Blodelin=Attila and Bleda are Huns." In our article we comment upon the possibility that *ila* may reflect not a Germanic hypocoristic termination but some Hunnic suffix (p. 53).

half millenniums). Augandzi to them became a corrupted form of a hypothetic form to be tied to Old-Norse Egðir, the inhabitants of a district in southern Norway—over half a millennium later. Of the Eunixi Schönfeld honestly says, "*Der Name dieser skandinavischen Germanen ist noch nicht befriedigend gedeutet*," but summarizes preceding work on Taetel by connecting it with Thelir, Taetel being a copyist's error for hypothetical Telae, the residents of modern Telemark. The work on the Arochi goes as follows: Arochi from hypothetical Harothi by distortion. Harothi is the same as hypothetical Haruthi, which is identical with the historical Harudes if adjustment be made. These are the peoples of whom "nobody ever doubted they were Germanic." Perhaps a little doubt should have been raised. The little else that Jordanes tells of Rodvulf hints that the king was able to make a good story; also in that epoch Finns were found in those regions; also the etymologizing reflects a certain *Tendenz*.

There are some specific points to consider. We shall omit those which seem secondary, because we do not wish to take too much advantage of the hospitality of the *American Historical Review*.

We do not confuse the great battle of Châlons with the bushwhacking around Orleans.²

"The identity of the Hsiung-nu with the Huns is far from proved" duplicates our statement to the same effect in the first page of our article.³

On a minor point we are caught badly. We spoiled a good argument by getting references from Wietersheim, Landulfus Sagax, and Sidonius regarding the Torcilingi and Sciri confused. Our point, however, is still valid. We had Landulfus' and Sidonius' list of those peoples; we took down Wietersheim's comment on the great battle and his comments on Landulfus and Sidonius. Paul the Deacon's and Landulfus' lists put the Torcilingi in Attila's army at Châlons. Wietersheim has no notice that the Sciri were also there, since he uses an old edition of Sidonius' *Carmina*, quoting it at some length in the original. But after Wietersheim's re-edition and republication by Dahn (1881), Luetjohann brought out the *Monumenta* edition of the *Carmina*, where he emended an earlier misreading of *Sarum* into the correct *Scirum*, which put the Sciri at Châlons too. Our reference to this slipped out. We confess to carelessness in writing up this point and to worse carelessness in the recheck. This opportunity to correct our references is appreciated.

Niebuhr's emendation of Suidas (the quotation mentioning Odigar) requires only the suppression of an accent, but does not satisfy several scholars. We think Niebuhr's suggestion is plausible, since a proper name makes more sense in that context than two prepositions, and so does Mueller, editor of the *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. A further small point: Until now, debate concerning the

² We say (p. 45), "He [Odoacer] and his men took part in a chaotic struggle for control of the Loire region, between the battle of Châlons (451) and the consolidation of Visigothic authority in the region, by Euric (466-484)" and (p. 51), "Young Odoacer was with the Scirian contingent at Châlons; he remained in Gaul to profit from the disorder which followed that battle."

³ We quote (pp. 49-50), a Chinese historical text saying that the T'u-kiüe (Turks) called "the barons of their rulers" *wolves*, and we infer that "*Hun-wulf* could have been a translation of such a name, or even the translation of a title the son of Edicon, one of the noblest Huns, could rightfully bear: 'baron (*börü*) of the Huns.'" That Hun in all probability meant Hun is affirmed by Förstemann; Schönfeld prefers a Celtic (non-Germanic) etymology from *cuno-* (strength), but is forced to acknowledge that "*Es ist eigentümlich, dass Huni- niemals als Chuni- erscheint und auch keine Verwechslung mit Cuni- vorkommt.*" If Baron be in the background for *wolf* names, Evervulf could make sense as "chief-baron."

reading of this passage has been based entirely upon editorial considerations: script, grammar, the sense of the sentence. Now, through our article, we somewhat increase the reasonableness of the assumption that *Odigar* is the better reading, since it, for independently ascertained historical reasons, *could* well have been a Hun-ruler's name. Only Suidas could settle the argument.

Mommsen's emendation of John of Antioch, changing *Oklan* into *Thelan* requires changing two letters out of five. The change was advocated in a footnote sentence without positive evidence. He was bothered by the name *Thelan*, appearing in the less authoritative *Anonymus Valesii* to designate obviously the same individual. Mommsen was a greater historian than any of us, but John of Antioch is by far the best source on Odoacer and his family. We hold to John.⁴

We are satisfied to stand by our Sciri-Saxones hypothesis, strengthened in our stand by Kurth's comments upon Gregory's unreliability concerning earlier or distant peoples.⁵

There is question about the propriety of suggesting a metathesis in the name *Toghrul*, should it be the root of *Torcingi*; we also suggested *Türk-lük*, which requires none.

We are ourselves skeptical of such work as this upon Herul names: Schönfeld needs a change in accent and apocope to go from *φαρας* to *Fara*, a fall of vowel and apocope to go from *φιλμοῦς* to hypothetical *Filimōs*, and a change in vowel to go from *φανίθεος* to *Fanotheus*. Nor can he even then explain as Germanic *Alvith*, *Andonnoballus*, *Datius*, *Ochus*, *Verus*, and *Aordus*. That is a fair part of all the Herul names we have. Nevertheless, we did not count the Heruls non-Germanic; there is no historical material indicating such a conclusion. We did offer a guess as to why so many of their names were non-Germanic.

The comments upon *Rogas-Rogus* require longer discussion. The arbitrary assumption that the kings of the Huns took German names has been made by all Germanic scholars; on that basis it would be proper to insist the Hunnic royal name *Rogas-Roas*, etc., was derived from hypothetical Germanic *Ruga*. But *Jordanes*, as we noted, clearly says that Goths often took Hunnic names; he does not mention the opposite process. Incidentally, even *Wietersheim-Dahn* did not include *Rogas* in their list of Huns with German names.⁶

⁴ Isidore of Seville also calls the son of Odoacer *Thela*, but he may have borrowed from the *Anonymus Valesii*. Mommsen showed that the latter was compiled by two different writers living at different periods, using different sources and having different political convictions. Roberto Cessi, who did further investigation into the problem, agrees with Mommsen in this respect.

⁵ See G. Kurth, *Etudes franques* (Paris-Bruxelles, 1919), II, 166 ff. The suggested identification of the "Adovacrius" in the Loire region with the leader of the Sciri is only a subsidiary point in our reconstruction, as we point out, p. 45, n. 31. Incidentally, in our excursion into the matter, we brought up considerations not developed previously. We knew well the story of Odoacer's visit to Saint Severinus—everybody touching the period repeats it; but it had nothing in it one way or the other affecting our thesis, so we passed it by. Now the issue is raised so we consider it here. First of all, the account from the *Vita Sancti Severini*, quoted *verbatim* by the *Anonymus Valesii*, of a visit by Odoacer to the saint may have been a pious invention of the hagiographer. Then it could have taken place whenever Odoacer was young; there is no chronological hook to the story. Odoacer was dressed in "humble skins." All Roman and Byzantine writers regarded barbarian furs as a coarse dress compared with Roman purple. See R. S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum*, XX (1945), 2, 32-33, 35, 42.

⁶ *Wietersheim-Dahn*, II, 384: "*Köpfe nimmt—mit Recht, DAHN—an, bereits vor dem Einbrüche der Hunnen sei an den Grenzen vielleicht eine Mischung der Gothen mit denselben eingetreten. Schon in der Zeit vor Attila haben deren Fürsten gothisirende Namen gehabt, wie Balamber, Walamir, Mundioch (nach Andern aber Mundzuck) und Munderech; Attila und*

It is true that Jordanes greatly confuses *u* and *o* in the codices. The *Monumenta* edition of the *Getica* was made by Mommsen. He closely evaluated the codices; those which give *Rug*— forms in our key passage are, in his opinion, quite the inferior ones. Only one out of the four best codices gives *u*; the other three have *o*, but only for those places where Odoacer is connected to Rogas— when touching the Rugian people the codices do not confuse *u* and *o*, as we carefully pointed out.⁷

Jordanes wrote strange Latin. So did the authors of the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* and the *Historia Langobardorum Codicis Gothani*, writing in the same general age and area. In their strange fashion all three use *genere* to show the clan to which a new king belonged: *Origo*, p. 3, "... fecerunt sibi regem nomine Agilmund, filium Agioni, ex genere Gugingus. Et post ipsum regnavit Laiaimicho ex genere Gugingus." *Historia*, p. 9, "Audoin ex genere fuit Gausus"; p. 10, "... levaverunt Langobardi sibi regem nomine Cleps, de genere Peleos." Our basic text is Jordanes, *Getica*, p. 44, "... Odoacer genere Rogus." Note that with *genere* the -s suffix is also used in all cases.⁸

Taking these points, as well as the others we made in our article, we feel reasonably sure that Odoacer belonged to a Rogas-clan, not to the Rugian people.

Here is the long and the short of the Edico-Edica materials. An Edico was one of the chief Hunnic courtiers; he was specifically called "one of the noblest Huns" by a very reliable contemporary who visited Attila's court; an Edico was Odoacer's father and the leader of the Sciri who had long been important in the Hunnic armies and therefore in the Hunnic court. Both Edicos got directly or indirectly touched by intrigues in which Orestes was involved; references to the second begin right where references to the first leave off; the first was in his prime before 451 while the second had grown sons in high commands ten to fifteen years later; the name may have been common but only these two personages bearing it were immortalized in contemporary texts; the first was loyal to Attila while the second lost his life fighting the Ostrogoths who had rebelled against the Huns. They look like one man to us.

Schönfeld does suggest a hypothetic Gothic form, *Aud(a)-wakrs*, for Odoacer. The science of philology makes a just use of asterisks to denote "words which must have been there" when the data are pertinent: an attested word to start with, a good idea of sound shifts, known grammatical rules which are applicable, and so on. Asterisks denoting hypothetic forms when the starting point is a proper name are pure question marks save when meanings are unmistakably clear.⁹ We return to this in a moment.

Bleda selbst aber sind ganz gothisch." Balamber must have received his name from the Goths a full generation before he attacked and overthrew the Ostrogoths! Incidentally, the name Walamir looks a great deal like that of the Bulgarian khan Malamir, which Slavicizing etymologists have regarded as the earliest Bulgarian name showing Slavonic influence! Philology unaccompanied by historical evidence can lead anywhere.

⁷ Mommsen, *Proemium*, p. lxxii. Furthermore, in his notes on this very subject—Jordanes' orthography, p. 174—Mommsen supplies a list of cases where Jordanes used *o* for *u*. The samples given above appear to derive from this list, which indeed does prove the vagaries of Jordanes' permutations of the two letters. The list is very very long, if words as well as names are counted. But Mommsen does not think this Rogas item was a case of that sort, since he leaves it out of a list which purports to be exhaustive.

⁸ M.G.H., *Script. Rerum Langob et Italic.* (1878), for *Origo* and *Historia*.

⁹ Historians curious to test the assertion that *Thela* is a good German name should read the article on it by F. Wrede, "Über die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien," *Quellen u. Forschungen z. Sprach-u. Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*, LXVIII (1891), 148–50. It summarizes the best work on the subject; it's a gem.

Schönfeld thinks the best form is *Odoachar* instead of *Odovacar*, albeit the latter is the most common form in Latin (not reflected, however, in Greek) as we point out (p.45, n.28).

In our text we used *Odoacer* because that is common English style; Thomas Hodgkin, considerably after his great work, wrote the article on *Odoacer* in the *Britannica*, accepting that form throughout.

The tradition that Odoacer's name was Germanic goes back at least to E. G. Graff's *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz* (Vol. I, Berlin, 1834), cols. 148-49. Graff, a hot German patriot (see his dedicatory preface) lists a group of *Oz*-names as Germanic and derived from *Aud*- ("wealth"), without regard for Jordanes' witness that such names could well have come from the Huns. That a hypothetical *-wakrs* could be tied up with Gothic *wahsjan* (cognate with English *wax*, as in "the moon *waxes*") was guessed at later in the century and became one of those things nobody questions. Following so many scholars who held to *wakrs* because they could make a meaning that way, Schönfeld keeps in line. He drops an *a*, uses *k* instead of *ch*, and a *w* which does not appear in his own preferred spelling.

At this point we two neophytes inquire if phonetic studies show that the basically "*iks*" sound of Gothic *hs* (English *x*) splits off the *s* and easily changes to *k*? If Odoacer was the "wealth-grower" should not the Gothic to Latin have gone like this: *Aud* (*a*)-*wahsers* to *Odovacsar* (Odowaxer, not Odowacker, if Englished)? Anyhow, while the derivation from *wahsjan* was favored for a while, it is again dropped by Schönfeld himself, who, in 1911, does not call attention to it. All, in fact, that Schönfeld offers is a guess as to how the name could have been spelled in Gothic sounds and absolutely nothing else. He leaves an open invitation, which we have accepted, to try a non-Germanic approach. We offer our historical evidence in our article.¹⁰

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ROBERT L. REYNOLDS
ROBERT S. LOPEZ

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In the interest of scholarship I feel called upon to say a word about Mr. Linden's review of Herbert Weaver's *Mississippi Farmers* in the January (1947) issue of the *American Historical Review* and at the same time to discuss certain aspects of the book itself. My interest in Mr. Weaver's study should first be explained: The monograph was done under my direction—with the careful editorial assistance of Dr. W. C. Binkley—as a doctoral dissertation; and, furthermore, it is one segment of a general study that I have been conducting on land tenure in the late ante bellum South. Mr. Linden's piece was not a review of Weaver's book, for he fails to reveal the essence of the work to the reader. Indeed, not once does he intimate that the primary objective of the monograph is the analysis of land tenure in Mississippi during the period from 1850 to 1860. On the contrary he avoids the direct discussion of this subject, and terms Weaver's volume and a previous one on land tenure in Tennessee—Blanche Henry Clark's *Tennessee Yeomen 1840-1860*—studies of slavery. While avoiding the reviewer's fundamental obligation to discuss the contents and purpose of a book and to evaluate

¹⁰ We are abashed to have to owe a personal apology and correction to Professor Sydney Fisher of Ohio State University, whom we thanked in our original article while misspelling his name. We are grateful to him for that help and for the tact and humor with which he called attention to our mistake.

the materials and methodology employed by the author, Mr. Linden damns by the simple process of assertion. This is a familiar technique in propaganda today, and it is disheartening to see it employed in historical criticism. Mr. Linden asserts that Weaver's statistical tables are inaccurate; he asserts that the author's selection of counties was too small and not representative of the regions in which they lay nor of the state as a whole; he asserts that the 559 farmers and planters traced individually through two censuses were selected from the more prosperous classes so as to obtain the most favorable picture; and he asserts an over-all lack of honesty, intelligence, and mathematical accuracy on the part of Mr. Weaver in the use of his material.

For those who have a special interest in the subject, I suggest the actual reading and study of Weaver's *Mississippi Farmers*. They would find the study revealing as to materials, methodology, and conclusions; but they would not find a resemblance even "coincidental" between the book and Mr. Linden's "review" of it. For those who have only a general interest in the problem of land tenure in the Old South, and who will not, therefore, read Weaver's monograph or any of the others published or to be published on the subject, I will make a few observations on those features of the book that Mr. Linden brings into question and on the material and methods employed in the general study of land tenure in the Old South. Weaver's statistical tables and analyses were done with the most scrupulous care. All data were processed with punch cards and electric calculator. Finally, all computations were rechecked. Any statistical errors that are in the book—and I am not at all sure that there are any—would be very few and of a minor nature and would not affect the over-all picture. Linden's assertion that the counties selected for detailed study represented too small a proportion of the population is of doubtful validity. Certainly they included a larger percentage of the total population than do the usually successful polls made by Gallup and others, and they were completely representative of the geographical regions in which they lie. On the matter of selecting sample counties that would be typical of the region in which they lie, Mr. Weaver's book is explicit and full. The author made a general study of the state, county by county, from the published census reports, geological and soil surveys, and other sources; and he selected his sample counties for a person by person analysis because they were typical as judged by such indexes as soil, population, amount of improved land, cash value of farms, the production of cotton and corn—the chief crops—and the number of slaves. The author constructed several excellent maps showing the bases of his selection. After explaining carefully his methods of selection Mr. Weaver sums up the statistical basis for his conclusion that the counties were representative:

The twelve sample counties contained 23.5 per cent of the total population of the state in 1850 and 22.0 per cent in 1860; they contained 26.6 per cent of the total number of slaves in 1850 and 25.3 per cent in 1860; they produced 25.0 per cent of the entire cotton crop in the state in 1850 and 26.4 per cent in 1860; they yielded 21.1 per cent of the corn in 1850 and 22.0 per cent in 1860; 22.8 per cent of the improved land in the state was found in the sample counties in 1850 and 22.3 per cent in 1860; cash value of the farms in the sample counties was 26.7 per cent of that of the whole state in 1850 and 25.0 per cent in 1860. Slaves made up 55.1 per cent of the total population of the state in 1860; 28 of the 60 counties had percentages below that figure and 32 above; 5 of the sample counties were below 55.1 per cent and 7 were above [page 24].

In addition to studying each individual farmer and planter in his sample counties,

Mr. Weaver undertook to trace perhaps 1,000 persons through two census returns. Many of them disappeared from his sample counties between 1850 and 1860 either by death or migration so that he was able to follow only 559 for the ten-year period. Mr. Weaver explains his method of selecting these persons. In order to include persons of all possible economic categories he listed the names of all farm operators in the poorest county in Mississippi and in one of the richest, Jones and Jefferson, respectively. Selections were made from the other ten counties from all classes. The conclusions reached from tracing the 559 individuals corresponded closely with those reached from an analysis of the economic and social structure of the twelve sample counties.

The significance of the analysis of land tenure—the distribution of ownership and the sizes of holdings—in the United States and especially in the South prior to the Civil War should not be underestimated. It has never been attempted until recently on any extensive scale. Most of the tax lists of the period that would have made such an analysis at all feasible have been destroyed; and it has never been possible to make such a study from the published census reports. Indeed, it was not considered possible prior to 1880, when the law required that the Census Bureau distinguish between owner and renter, to analyze land tenure from the unpublished data obtained by the census office. Let me quote the superintendent of the census, Francis A. Walker, on this point. In his introduction to the agricultural census reports of 1880 he wrote:

Enough has been popularly known regarding the tenure of land in the United States to enable one to say with assurance that, in general, land was with us largely cultivated by its owners. *No statistical information, however, has ever before been collected, within the knowledge of this office, which furnishes the means of even approximating throughout any considerable segment of the country the proportion between the lands cultivated by their owners and the lands cultivated by occupiers who were not owners.* [Italics are mine.]

Any efforts, therefore, to study land tenure from the census returns prior to 1880 would seem futile from this statement. This is certainly true of the published census reports, which deal only in county totals and give no information about individuals. But what of the unpublished returns which deal with each individual, free person by name and by family? The answer is that, if one has the patience and the time to undertake such a complicated operation, there are data contained in the several schedules for 1850 and 1860 which, when put together, will furnish a fair basis for analyzing land tenure.

There are three schedules of the unpublished census for 1850 and 1860 which contain the data being used in the studies on land tenure and kindred subjects. These are Schedule I, "Free Inhabitants," Schedule II, "Slave Inhabitants," and Schedule IV, "Productions of Agriculture." Schedule I contains valuable data about every free person, white and colored, in each county of the states and territories of the United States. All persons are arranged in family groups, their ages, trade or profession, nativity by states, and their literacy are given, and the value of the real estate that each person owned is listed opposite his name. This valuation of real estate in Schedule I is the key by which the puzzle of the ownership of farms may be solved as will be presently explained. Schedule II gives the age, sex, and color of the slaves owned by each operator and lists them all under the names of the owners, so that each individual slaveholder can be identified and the number and types of his slaves determined. Thus slaveholding farmers and planters can be segregated from the nonslaveholding farmers in studying land-

ownership. Schedule IV, "The Productions of Agriculture," contains the names of the farm "operators" but makes no distinction between owners and tenants. Schedule IV, however, contains a wealth of information: the amount of improved and unimproved land under the control of each farm operator—whether owner or tenant—the number, description, and value of livestock, an itemized statement of the chief agricultural productions of the farm, the value of home manufactures, and some other information are given for each farm and farmer.

By assembling on a master chart the relevant information from these three schedules under the names of the heads of each farm family a reasonably accurate basis for a study of land tenure may be established. Landowners can be separated from renters; slaveholding landowners can be separated from nonslaveholding landowners; and the sizes of most holdings can be analyzed. The process is simple, but exceedingly tedious and long-drawn-out, for the several schedules are located at different places. The Census Bureau has retained at Washington Schedules I and II, "Free Inhabitants" and "Slave Inhabitants," while other schedules have been distributed to the states which they cover. Several Southern states, however—Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Kentucky, and perhaps another one or two—failed to receive these unpublished schedules, and most of them were finally given to Duke University. In order to bring these schedules together for the purpose of obtaining the necessary data from each one we had Schedules I and II (located at Washington) microfilmed. This, up to the present, has amounted to an estimated 100,000 pages of unpublished census returns. Schedule IV, located in the archives of the states or at Duke University, could not be satisfactorily microfilmed because the data for each farm operator is on the front and back of the same sheet. It has been found necessary, therefore, to copy by hand, on a master chart the entire agricultural schedule for each sample county. Each sheet usually contains the names of forty-one operators, and an experienced copyist can transcribe one sheet on an average of about forty-five minutes; and many counties have between fifty and one hundred sheets in Schedule IV. The next step is to check the names of the farm operators with the names on the microfilm of Schedule I, "Free Inhabitants." As observed previously, Schedule I, "Free Inhabitants," gives the value of real estate each individual owned, and Schedule IV gives the acreage and value of the farm of each operator, without distinguishing owner from tenant. Where a farmer appears on Schedule I as the owner of real estate valued at, say, \$4,000 and on Schedule IV as the operator of a farm valued at \$4,000, one would suspect that the farm was the real estate listed in Schedule I. When this happens with regularity in the case of the farmers and planters listed on both schedules, the evidence seems conclusive that by matching Schedules I and IV the ownership of farms can be determined with reasonable accuracy. Fortunately, however, a sufficient number of county tax lists have survived to test the validity of this procedure. The landowners given in the tax lists and the farm operators given in Schedule IV can be checked against one another. This has been done in a sufficient number of instances to prove the correctness of the method described above.

The final step in preparing the master chart is to check the names of all farmers and planters against Schedule II to identify nonslaveholders and slaveholders and to determine the number of slaves held by each individual. The master chart is then ready to be transferred, name by name with all data, to punch cards for processing with an electric sorting machine. This being done, an electric calculator is used to work out the tables.

The results when charted are typical of the two extremes not only in Mississippi but in the ante bellum South, and I believe that sizes of the holdings in the rich land area will be found smaller than expected and those in the poor land areas larger. The widespread distribution of landownership as shown in these charts is typical of the entire lower South as well as of the state of Mississippi in 1860. This is true of the types of crops and other farm products: cotton and corn in the black-belt, with a surprising amount of peas and potatoes and livestock; livestock and food crops in the piney woods. Another interesting and common fact was that tenants were frequently slaveholders.

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FRANK L. OWSLEY

EDITOR'S NOTE: The attention of those interested is called to the elaboration of Mr. Linden's views in the April, 1946, issue of the *Journal of Negro History*, pages 140-89.

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